

DANIEL'S MYSTIC THIRD SPACE:
A POSTCOLONIAL MYSTICISM

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by

Timothy L. Seals

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This dissertation completed by

Timothy L. Seals

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Faculty Committee

Dr. Marvin Sweeney, Chairperson
Dr. Jon Berquist
Dr. Kah-Jin Jeffrey Kuan

Dean of the Faculty

Dr. Sheryl A. Kujawa-Holbrook

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ABSTRACT

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Historically, the apocalyptic Book of Daniel has been used as a commentary on the contemporary political and social events of the times in which its interpreters have lived. The scary, apocalyptic images of Daniel have made it one of the most commented on books of the Bible, as the prophecies of Daniel have been stretched far beyond their original context. The book was written to speak to a persecuted people, to aid and comfort them in the unfolding crisis in the mid-second century B.C.E. It was written to show them how to resist religious terror and decolonize themselves from the ugly images that terror might have singed their psyches.

Mysticism is a powerful tool enabling one to resist the dehumanizing aspects of empire and to decolonize one's psyche, cleanse it for the new possibilities that God offers. The Book of Daniel is less about a future prognostication and more about empowerment in the present through the use of spiritual practices that prepare people for a transcendent experience of God. To the extent mysticism empowers people to resist and decolonize, it is a useful postcolonial mysticism that is not escapist and esoteric. The sage Daniel is the epitome of one who uses mysticism to resist and decolonize.

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Quia orando pro me ago gratias ad Danihelem Prophetam

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis of this dissertation is that Daniel is a mystic. He is a mystic for two reasons. First, he structures his life around a typical, mystical infrastructure and practice that unfold in purgative, illuminative and unitive phases. Most mystics organize their lives around this infrastructure. In this dissertation, I identify texts in the Book of Daniel that yield Daniel's mystical infrastructure. Secondly, Daniel is a mystic because he has mystical experiences which come on the heels of his spiritual preparation through his mystical infrastructure. He journeys to the throne of God. He has transcendent experiences of God that are visionary and auditory in nature.

Daniel's use of mysticism serves two purposes, moreover. He uses mysticism to resist imperial terror at the hands of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV in the mid-second century. He also uses mysticism to decolonize his psyche of the negative images of terror that would dehumanize him, limit his experience as a human being created in the image of God. To the extent that mysticism is used to resist subjugating powers and decolonize one's psyche for subsequent enlightenment and transformation from God, it is a postcolonial mysticism. Such a mysticism constitutes Daniel's mystic third space. Daniel's mystic third space is where he affirms his humanity in defiance of the ideology of Greek colonial power which seeks to dehumanize him. Daniel's mystic third space is his infrastructure of spiritual practices, his *via mystica* which readies him for an experience of God that empowers him to resist the religious evil of Antiochus IV and to decolonize his psyche in the aftermath of religious terror. At the core of Daniel's *via mystica* is the illuminative experience of Daniel 7:1-14. Daniel 7:1-14 initiates the apocalyptic section of his work, chapters 8-12; yet, relative to the Aramaic language, it is related to the narrative section, namely chapters 2 - 6. Daniel 7:1-14, then, is the true center of the book of

Daniel. At the core of Daniel 7:1-14 is a mystical experience that is the product of his third space engagement. His ascent to the throne is the product of his mystical third space engagement, the place where he as a subaltern goes to connect with his authentic self.

In the vein of Temple imagery of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1, Daniel sees visions and hears revelations from God. Such visionary and auditory sessions before the throne of God constitute a mystical experience such that one would find among the prophets. According to Moses, once a year the high priest was to present himself to the Holy of Holies to hear from God in order to give instruction to the people. In this sense, *Torah* as the responsibility of the high priest was ongoing instruction, not a mere delineation of rules and regulations. Like the high priest, having been in the presence of God before God's throne, Daniel is inspired to speak against the imperial text of the Seleucids and to inform the persecuted about God's plan in the unfolding history. This mystical core is a resistance and a polemic against the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus IV and his Hellenistic, Jewish sympathizers. The mystical core, however, is more than resistance; it is also how Daniel decolonizes his mind to prepare himself for subsequent illumination. Daniel's use of mystical experiences to resist evil and to decolonize his psyche in his third space existence represents a postcolonial mysticism.

Scholarship has been reticent about the mystical aspects of the Book of Daniel. One might surmise this is because of scholarship's narrow understanding of the apocalyptic genre generally and the apocalypse specifically. In a 1979 publication, John Collins defined apocalypse in the following way: "Apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological

salvation.”¹ Collins’ definition fails to consider the anthropological factors of the human recipient, the religious experience of the human receiving such a divine disclosure. He is silent about the recipient’s religious phenomenology, the recipient’s religious practice, or how the disclosure might have affected the recipient’s psychology, or physiology for that matter. Collins ignores the reality of how the recipient might have prepared himself/herself for such an experience. It is as if the human recipient involved in the disclosure is merely a passive recipient of an oracle from God. The pure word event is sheltered from “the smell of human life.”

In his definition of apocalypse, moreover, Collins has articulated a long-standing association of apocalyptic with eschatology. Historically, apocalyptic has been understood more as a cosmic phenomenon hovering at the end of time and less as a revelation that may reveal the hidden exigencies of everyday life. Granted, I single out Collins as representative of most scholarship on the Book of Daniel. He is representative of most scholars in overlooking the mystical aspects of the Book of Daniel. In 1993, Henry Thompson published an annotated bibliography of the Book of Daniel,² in which there are 1,851 entries varying from ancient writers like Augustine to medieval writers like Maimonides to modern writers like Lester Grabbe. The entries cover the ideological spectrum of conservative to liberal, Jewish to Christian to Islamic, and everything else in between. Yet, not one entry broaches the topic of the mystical aspects of the Book of Daniel. The overwhelming emphasis on Daniel as an apocalyptic work centered on eschatology has overshadowed the mystical aspects of the book as a visionary experience deriving from the matrix of Jewish prophetic experience.

¹ John J. Collins, ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Semeia 14 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1979), 9.

² Henry O. Thompson, *The Book of Daniel: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993).

Some scholars, however, have begun to pay attention to the religious phenomenology of the recipient of revelation. In an article titled “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses” in *Experiencia, Volume 1: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*,³ Crispin Fletcher-Louis avers that revelation is the product of experience. Fletcher-Louis insists that the apocalypses are best understood by appreciating their mystical character. They offer an experience that transcends the boundaries of ordinary time and space.⁴ The apocalypses, moreover, are part of a stream of mystical practice that goes from prophecy in Hebrew Bible to 1 Enoch to Merkavah mysticism. It is a stream of genuine religious experience. It is not enough to focus on the words of the apocalypses; the person, the mystical person, should concern scholarship as well.

Given the mystical nature of apocalypses, they are less about eschatology and more about transformation, enlightenment in the present.⁵ They proffer personal transformation that catalyzes a person to transcend his/her immediate circumstances. April DeConick also posits there is a tendency in scholarship to equate apocalypticism with eschatology.⁶ Eschatology is only part of apocalyptic according to DeConick. DeConick says the other part of apocalyptic is mystical: “The belief in the immediate and direct experience of God. This belief has to do with religious experience, the act of revelation itself, the encounter with God that results in the devotee’s immediate personal transformation.”⁷ This is the understanding of apocalyptic in this

³ Frances Flannery, Collen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, eds., *Experiencia, Volume 1: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 40 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008). The text is a collection of scholars who focus on religious experience in texts. They take seriously the religious experience that a text speaks about.

⁴ Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses,” in *Experiencia, Volume 1*, 128.

⁵ Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses,” 133.

⁶ April D. DeConick, ed, *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 18.

⁷ DeConick, *Paradise Now*, 18.

dissertation; it opens up the apocalyptic genre to the mystical, to the experiential. Daniel's apocalyptic revelation transformed him, empowered him in the face of religious terror and empowered him in the midst of it.

Mysticism, then, is a species of religious experience. According to Philip Alexander, the mystic seeks a close emotional connection with God.⁸ Mysticism does not take place in a vacuum. Mysticism is culturally informed like anything else in life. Every mystic has a *via mystica*, an infrastructure that supports the mystic in his/her journey to a deeper emotional connection with God. Crispin Fletcher-Louis sees the infrastructure of the *via mystica* in the apocalyptic writings. He recounts the many mystical phenomena in the apocalypses that demonstrate an encounter with the divine: disturbances to the physicality and emotionality of the visionary as in the loss of strength, involuntary prostration, catatonic states, trembling and loss of ordinary consciousness.⁹ These physical and emotional alterations in the mystic emerge as a consequence of some preparatory ritual that is explicit in the apocalypses. Fletcher-Louis notes Enoch recites the “mantralike” prayers of the watchers before he has a dream vision.¹⁰ There is fasting (Daniel 9:3) and mourning for the community. There is prayer. There are lifestyle disciplines like denying oneself certain foods, living kosher. Daniel's apocalypse provides the infrastructure for his mystical experience. It is for this reason I designate the texts demonstrating Daniel's *via mystica*, his mystical infrastructure, as purgative, illuminative and unitive. Daniel's *via mystica* derives from the text itself. Daniel's *via mystica*, his infrastructure preparing him for mystical experience, from a *Religionsgeschichtliche* perspective is like the *viae mysticae* of other

⁸Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (New York: T and T Clark International, 2006), 8.

⁹ Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience in the Apocalypses” in *Experiencia, Volume I: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. Frances Flannery, Collen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, 125.

¹⁰ Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience in the Apocalypses,” 125.

mystics throughout history and across ethnicities who organize their lives for an optimal experience of God. How God comes to the mystic who prepares himself/herself, whether in a locution, in an auditory experience, in a dream/vision, or in a cognitive enlightenment that sees the whole in the parts, is the prerogative of God. The mystic intentionally readies himself/herself for profound emotional connectivity with God. That readying is culturally informed.

Mysticism, moreover, can be construed in such a way that it can serve as a postcolonial project of liberation from imperial powers as well as a project of decolonization that might serve to ameliorate the economic, social and cultural conditions of a subjugated people in the aftermath of colonial domination. According to R.S. Sugirtharajah, postcolonialism is on the forefront of change in the aftermath of a colonial experience. Postcolonialism is also about a critical stance against any abuse of power. To the extent that the abuse of power is an ever-present reality in society, postcolonialism will always serve a critical purpose that tries to right the abuse of power. Postcolonialism empowers one to resist. Sugirtharajah notes, “The world of postcolonialism is about change and struggle, about being conjectural, hesitant and interventionist.”¹¹ Mysticism and mystical experiences, then, can be defined in this way postcolonial way. Mysticism can be conjectural, hesitant and interventionist. To the extent that it is, it is world affirming. Through the dialectic of kataphatic and apophatic, saying and unsaying, the mystic resists absolutizing this world through sublime, religious language or religious ideology. The mystic occupies a space where no colonizer can enter, namely the soul as an occasion for inner dialogue and enlightenment from God. I would proffer this understanding of mysticism as one that speaks to these postmodern times. This mysticism is less about metaphysical vagaries and more about personal and societal transformation. It is suspicious of all ideologies that parade as absolutes,

¹¹ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 11.

whether by imperial religious communities or imperial nations. This mysticism, a postcolonial mysticism, is suspicious of the universal script of imperial modernity dressed up in doctrines of manifest destiny. This is a world-affirming mysticism that seeks to engage the unjust structures of the world and right them with a spiritual power deriving from God who is essentially related to this world.

Chapter one is the survey of the literature, a review of the research of Daniel as resistance literature. In this chapter, I shall survey the scholars whose work broaches the discussion of the Book of Daniel as resistance literature against the Seleucid imperial script. As theological resistance literature, Daniel purposively proffers the sovereignty of God over against the hubris of empire. From beginning to end, the book is a contest of dueling sovereignties, namely that of God and that of humans incarnated in empire. Chapter one will conclude that resistance is not merely logocentric; the body is also the vehicle through which resistance is articulated. I shall, then, extrapolate from forms of resistance that are logocentric in nature to resistance that is mystical in nature. I shall move from the resisting text to the resisting body moved thereto by a psyche flooded by God. Chapter two will delineate the methodology used in this dissertation. Chapter three is Daniel prolegomena. Here I touch on the contextual issues that influence the interpretation of Daniel. Chapter four presents the historical context of Daniel. Chapter five is the first phase of Daniel's *via mystica*, his mystical infrastructure, which is purgative. In Chapter five, I shall consider the purgative texts of Daniel's *via mystica*. Chapter six deals with the second phase of his *via mystica*; it is the illuminative phase. Daniel 7: 1-14 is the illuminative text *par excellence*. Chapter seven deals with the final phase of Daniel's mystical way, namely the unitive; accordingly, I shall interpret texts that reveal the unitive phase of Daniel's *via mystica*. Chapter eight is theological in nature. I cull mystical possibilities from Daniel's vision

of the sea in Daniel 7. Chapter nine is equally theological, as I consider the mystical possibilities in Daniel's concept of the son of Adam. The final chapter, chapter ten, is phenomenological. I shall survey people who, like Daniel, also used mysticism to resist subjugating powers and decolonize themselves from imperialism, religious persecution, misogyny, and racism.

The dissertation's scope is limited to the Hebrew Bible, the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS). There will be occasions when I shall do textual criticism using the Septuagint (LXX), Theodotion's recession of the Septuagint (Θ) the Vulgate (V), and Qumran texts, especially 4QDan^a (Q).

Chapter One

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

1.1 Otto Plöger

In this chapter, I shall survey the interpreters of Daniel whose scholarship is informed by the motif of resistance. They see Daniel primarily as resistance literature produced in the context of the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV when he ascended the Seleucid throne in 170 B.C.E.

The study of resistance applied to the Book of Daniel commenced in earnest in the 1960's, a decade replete with resistance and revolutionary fervor. Critical scholarship had long jettisoned the idea of a Babylonian-exiled Daniel predicting the rise and fall of the Seleucid Empire or having esoteric knowledge or insight into the course of human history and the final denouement of that history. Though scholars have long seen Daniel as proffering resistance to his audience as a way to deal with the political exigencies of the Seleucids, the motif of resistance applied to the Book of Daniel came into the sharp focus with the publication of Plöger's *Theocracy and Eschatology*. For Plöger, the Book of Daniel is the product of eschatological "conventions" that distinguished their apocalyptic worldview from the ideology of theocracy that emerged from the Chronicler in the postexilic fervor of reclaiming Judea and rebuilding the Temple.¹² During the Seleucid crisis, these conventions resisted the high-jacking of the Temple establishment by leaders who were theocratic in their outlook and Hellenistic in their spirit. The theocratic minded in the Temple establishment had lost the prophetic eschatological hope. There was no longer a need for such hope, as the reclamation of the land and the rebuilding of the Temple had actualized any outstanding hope in the prophetic corpus.

¹² Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, trans. S. Rudman (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1968), 48.

The prophets had become passé, as their vision had been fulfilled. The members of the eschatological conventicles, however, return to the prophetic corpus for inspiration in the articulation of their apocalyptic ideology. In addition to returning to the sacred traditions in the prophetic corpus, they used foreign ideas that might empower them to articulate the looming crisis. These foreign ideas included Persian dualism.¹³ According to Plöger, Isaiah 24-27, additions to the Book of Zechariah (12-14) and the two final chapters of Joel provide warrants that trace a change from the older eschatological worldview to an apocalyptic one.¹⁴

Plöger posits 190 B.C.E. as the year when one can detect the prophetic writings gaining a quasi-canonical status as the interpretative lens through which to interpret and understand the Pentateuch.¹⁵ The collection of these prophetic writings was not the work of the Temple establishment according to Plöger. The Temple establishment was beholden to theocratic notions proffered by the Chronicler and his fellow Priestly redactors. The assembling of the prophetic writings in this era was the work of those driven by an eschatological spirit that defied any human arrangement having exhausted the religious vision of the prophets. They were not as optimistic as those in the Chronicler's circle. Plöger regards these collectors of the prophetic corpus as an early "Hasidim," from whom derived the Pharisaic idea that the prophets were to be regarded as legitimate tradents and interpreters of the Torah.¹⁶

For Plöger, moreover, the Book of Daniel is the latest eschatological protest against the priestly worldview.¹⁷ Daniel's eschatology has been radicalized in the direction of the

¹³ Plöger notes that Martin Buber rejected apocalyptic eschatology as a dualistic, Iranian phenomenon that was deficient in comparison to prophetic eschatology in its classical expressions of hope of the fulfillment of creation.

¹⁴ Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 52.

¹⁵ Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 23.

¹⁶ Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 23.

¹⁷ Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, 43.

apocalyptic, given the life and death crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV and his Hellenistic collaborators in the Temple establishment. Daniel is the resistance manifesto of the eschatological conventicles that came together to address the Seleucid crisis after Antiochus IV's ascension to the Syrian throne in 175 B.C.E. He would jettison the agreement made between Antiochus III on behalf the Jewish people granting them some autonomy for supporting him in his fight against the Ptolemies. Plöger speaks of conventicles because they constituted informal gatherings among those in the Temple establishment who were not happy with the wholesale simony occurring in the Temple complex. Though critical of the purchasing of Temple offices, the participants in the conventicles nevertheless remained participants in the Temple cult and the wider Jewish community.

1.2 Paul Hanson

Paul Hanson's *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* took up Plöger's fundamental thesis. Instead of locating the origins of apocalyptic in the mid-second century B.C.E., Hanson posits its emergence in the Persian period, namely the postexilic community of Jehud. For Hanson, the emergence of apocalyptic cannot be determined by the juxtaposition of 7th and 2nd century compositions, which had been the methodology of scholars when trying to identify the origins of apocalyptic. Hanson would say that the literature of the second century is the product of a long historical *denouement* already begun in the pre-exilic times. Apocalyptic eschatology is not a new phenomenon of the second century B.C.E.¹⁸ Apocalyptic eschatology emerges from pre-exilic and early postexilic prophecy. Though apocalyptic eschatology may have some foreign

¹⁸ Paul Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 5.

influences in its mythological structure, its core and spirit are informed by prophecy from the Hebrew Bible.

In biblical writings associated with the postexilic community of Jehud, especially Third Isaiah, Hanson located a conflict between the hierocrats and visionaries in the context of recreating a nation and rebuilding the Temple under the auspices of the Persian Empire.¹⁹ The visionaries are driven by the glorious promises of Second Isaiah; yet, they are frustrated by the quotidian realities of organizing a new political structure out of the returnees. The hierocrats are not driven by a prophetic vision. They face the practical realities of building the Second Temple and organizing the people around that temple. The hierocrats and visionaries clash. Hanson locates the source of the conflict in his theory of deprivation informed by Max Weber.²⁰ Hanson argued that the oppressed and disenfranchised groups within the early postexilic community utilized apocalyptic motifs to call into question the validity of designs and political structures established by the hierocrats. The visionaries point out the incongruity between their apocalyptic viewpoint of a perfect realm established alone by God and the actual state of affairs established by the hierocrats. The disenfranchised groups on the periphery use apocalyptic eschatology to resist the status quo.

1.3 Philip Davies

Philip Davies refuted Hanson in “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings” in Clements’ *The World of Ancient Israel*. Davies is distrustful of any scholarly pursuit that can reproduce the social world of the Bible based alone on the writings from the Bible and the

¹⁹ Hanson, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic*, 25.

²⁰ Hanson, *The Dawn of the Apocalyptic*, 20.

intertestamental period.²¹ The Bible proffers an ideology; it is not a clear, objective take on the social and political world. The Bible has an interest in giving its unique take on the social world from which it emerges. For Davies, the counter-cultural writings of apocalyptic did not necessitate a counter-cultural community to produce them.²² The apocalyptic writers were very much a part of the status quo, though they may have been dissatisfied with some features of the Temple establishment at some point. Davies is suspicious of the methodological conundrum into which some form critics put themselves by plying a social background out of a literary genre.²³ There is no equivalency between a genre of literature and a putative social reality.²⁴

Davies, moreover, is not on board with scholars who limit the emergence of apocalyptic to the prophetic. Apocalypticism, in fact, cannot be limited to Judaism, as the genre was common in the Hellenistic world.²⁵ To limit apocalypticism to Judaism and tie it specifically to the prophets is being fair to neither apocalypticism nor prophecy according to Davies. Though the genre has motifs from the prophetic corpus in its Jewish permutation, it is nevertheless profoundly different, a radically new genre created by intelligent and creative people who were not members of a disenfranchised class. According to Davies, little of Daniel and 1 Enoch reflects the influence of prophecy or a situation of persecution.²⁶ Here Davies is overstating his case, as Daniel certainly harkens back to the prophetic; he is informed by the likes of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. And, 1 Enoch in the third century B.C.E. may not have been produced in a hermetically-safe environment either, as Jehud was in the crosshairs of constant fighting

²¹ Philip Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” in *The World of Ancient Israel*, ed. Robert Clements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 251.

²² Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 253.

²³ Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 252.

²⁴ Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 252.

²⁵ Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 251.

²⁶ Davies, “The Social World of Apocalyptic Writings,” 256.

between the Ptolemies and Seleucids. Life after Alexander was in constant turmoil, as some 200 battles occurred in and around Palestine between Alexander's conquest of the area in 332 B.C.E. to the Roman takeover under Pompey in 63 B.C.E.²⁷

For Davies, then, apocalyptic is not the production of fringe community per se. There is no connection between apocalyptic literature and a disenfranchised society on the periphery. This negates Hanson's basic thesis of apocalyptic as the genre of those outside the Temple establishment. For Davies, apocalyptic is a phenomenon within the Temple itself, where there were disputes over competing visions of reality. This competition in the Temple over competing visions of life may have emerged from what Jon Berquist calls "perceived relative deprivation theory,"²⁸ as the deprivation theory that informed Hanson was discredited by Davies and others. Among one's peers, one may perceive to have less than one's peers and thereby experience dissatisfaction that may motivate one to social change or at the very least micro aggression.

1.4 James Scott

Though not a Hebrew Bible scholar, James Scott is important to mention at this juncture because of the influence he has had on those who reflect on Daniel from the perspective of resistance, specifically Daniel Smith-Christopher and Anathea Portier-Young. He provides the essential categories to understand resistance in the working out of the power relationships between the powerful and subordinates in a given society. Scott notes that structurally similar forms of domination will resemble one another in the techniques used by the powerful over the subjugated to extract their labor, services and resources.²⁹ By extension, though the responses of

²⁷ Daniel Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Abington, 1996), 26.

²⁸ Jon Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow* (Eugene, Or: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1995), 184.

²⁹ James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), ix.

the subjugated to the powerful will be nuanced by varying cultural realities and what they have in the way of resources, there is a universal way that subalterns relate to power, negotiate with it in order to find their spaces for the expression of their humanity. Those who dominate produce ideologies to justify the unequal social and economic arrangements.³⁰ The ideologies produce a sense of permanence about those arrangements; they codify them in the symbols of the culture, as though the unequal distribution of power was always meant to be, given the inherent inferiority of the subaltern and the inherent superiority of the powerful. The ideologies are embedded in what Scott calls “public scripts.” The public transcripts are the ritualized “self portraits” of the dominant elites.³¹ According to Scott, the greater the disparity of power between the elite and the subjugated, the more stereotypical the public script relative to the subjugated. The greater the disparity of power between the dominating class and the subaltern, the more arbitrary the exercise of power and the stereotypical justification of that power.³² The public transcript is meant to shock and awe the subaltern class.³³ It is not meant to foster dialogue.

The public transcript, however, never stands alone. There is always a reaction to it in the form of the “hidden transcript” which the subalterns produce. There is always a reaction to any utterance or text as discourse analysis would posit. According to Scott, the subaltern reaction to the mask of the public transcript is the hidden transcript. The hidden transcript is the “off stage” performance of the subjugated.³⁴ It occurs outside the purview of the space and time sanctioned by power. The hidden transcript occurs in the religious conventicle, in the working-class bar or

³⁰ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, x.

³¹ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 18.

³² Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 3.

³³ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 67.

³⁴ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 4.

coffee shop, in the hidden forest groves known only to the slaves of a given plantation. The hidden transcript is not limited to a speech act.³⁵ The hidden transcript produces a multifaceted resistance to the public script. The hidden transcript occasions for the subaltern a privileged place for “nonhegemonic, contrapuntal, dissident and subversive discourse.”³⁶ According to Scott, if the domination is especially severe, then the hidden discourse may be rich. A case in point is American Jazz and Negro Spirituals, which continue as rich classical expressions of an especially vicious subjugation of African Americans in America. The very richness bespeaks the inhumane conditions that produced them.

According to Scott, moreover, resistance to the ideology of the powerful requires a counter ideology that is forged in the context where the subalterns produce their hidden transcripts.³⁷ Resistance is not something one can do alone. It takes a village to resist. Resistance occurs in those places where the subjugated are free to express their feelings and envision another reality for themselves to preserve and extend their humanity.³⁸ In order for resistance to last beyond an occasional eruption of emotion and grow into a single-minded movement, there must be an infrastructure that supports the resisting ideology. This is a significant phase in the process by which a subjugated people decolonize themselves from the ill-effects of colonization. Religion, moreover, has long provided such an infrastructure for the subalterns to resist and maintain the spirit of that resistance, though religion can be both a virtue and vice, for the powerful use religion to legitimize themselves.³⁹ Both Gandhi and King headed movements of subalterns that have proven the importance of religion as a ready-made

³⁵ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 14.

³⁶ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 27.

³⁷ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 118.

³⁸ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 120.

³⁹ Scott quotes Weber, “What the privileged classes require of religion is the psychological reassurances of legitimacy,” Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, 107.

infrastructure to forge and maintain resistance. Daniel stands in the same tradition as Gandhi and King, though Daniel is primary to them as the progenitor of the tradition of using religion as an infrastructure of non-violent resistance that is able to maintain a subjugated people over the long haul of resistance.

1.5 Stephen Cook

Cook argues on the basis of sociological theory to better clarify the social background of the proto-apocalyptic texts.⁴⁰ Cook wants to go beyond the private, religious conventicles of Otto Plöger as the social setting of the apocalyptic. The proto-apocalyptic texts do not stem from marginalized people. They stem from priests and others allied with them in the restoration of the Temple. Cook notes non-sociological approaches to apocalyptic texts did not appreciate the nature and sources of apocalyptic. Historically, in scholarship there has been a devaluation of the apocalyptic. Both Wellhausen and Gunkel could not fit apocalyptic into their evolutionary schemes where prophecy was seen as the pinnacle of Jewish religion. For them apocalyptic was as a foreign aberration.⁴¹ According to Cook, it was developments in systematic theology commencing in the 1960's that increased the esteem of apocalypticism, as systematic theologians like Wolfahrt Pannenberg and Jürgen Moltmann based their theologies on apocalyptic thinking. Yet, before these theologians, New Testament scholars took apocalypticism seriously as the foundational worldview of the Jesus Movement in early Christianity.⁴²

According to Cook, sociologists use the term millennial to describe the apocalyptic worldview and genre.⁴³ Qumran was one such group which sociologists might tag millennial.

⁴⁰Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1965), 2. Cook identifies these proto-apocalyptic texts as Ezekiel 38 – 39, Zechariah 1 – 8 and Joel.

⁴¹Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 3.

⁴²Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 5.

⁴³Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 6.

By way of a *Weltschauung*, millennial groups have a linear view of history.⁴⁴ This linear view of history has as its apogee a futuristic eschatological realm wherein there will be an imminent, radical change. History will be reversed: the first will be last and the last first.

Millennialism, moreover, is a group phenomenon.⁴⁵ It is organized around a prophet or a catalyst figure.⁴⁶ The catalyst figure administers the community through a group of committed disciples. There is an inner group of confidants and an outer group of followers of one degree to another. Millennial groups are inherently religious groups. Religious motives drive the group, not a sense of relative deprivation. Throughout history, accordingly, there have been millennial groups that were well off; deprivation is not the sole motivating factor behind the founding of a millennial group. Deprivation may or may not be a catalyst behind the founding of a millennial group. A key religious notion driving millennial groups, according to Cook, is the idea of the total sovereignty of God in the imminent end of the world.⁴⁷ Because of the imminent end, millennial groups will differ in their ethical responses, ranging from asceticism to antinomianism.⁴⁸ They can deconstruct tradition or be its biggest adherents.

1.6 Daniel Smith-Christopher

According to Smith-Christopher, most literary analysis of the stories of the Book of Daniel fail to see these stories as resistance to cultural and spiritual assimilation.⁴⁹ Daniel 1- 6 is not a training guide on how to appease and accommodate potentates in order to forge a successful life in the Diaspora. They are not merely benign folklore for the purposes of

⁴⁴ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 26.

⁴⁵ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 27.

⁴⁶ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 30.

⁴⁷ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 32.

⁴⁸ Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism*, 32.

⁴⁹ Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, 20.

entertainment. They are resistance literature from an era when the Jewish people were under the political and economic domination of empire. Inasmuch as Daniel is resistance literature, there cannot be a nonpolitical reading of Daniel.⁵⁰ In the stories, one can see the *modus operandi* of a subjugating, imperial power: name-changing, threats of death, terror, and the arbitrary use of power relative to the subaltern. The stories illustrate that resistance need not take a violent form. There are varying ways that the subaltern resist, given the resources at their disposal. For the religious Jew, whom Daniel epitomizes, trusting in the sovereignty of their God and being embedded in their sacred traditions are culturally-appropriate forms of resistance.

Smith-Christopher notes, moreover, that portions of the Bible must be read “in the shadows.”⁵¹ Books like Daniel must be read in the shadows to fully appreciate and comprehend what these books mean for a subjugated people. Conversations in the shadow are like Scott’s hidden transcripts; they occur away from the earshot of the potentate. The conversations include stories, jokes and quips that expose the pretense of the powerful. Daniel invites one to peer into the conversations of a subjugated people in their third space, which also functions like hidden transcripts and conversations in the shadow. The stories afford the subjugated an occasion to laugh at power, to ridicule it. Through such laughter and humor in their shadow conversations, the subjugated reclaim a semblance of their humanity. In their shadow conversations, American slaves of African descent relied on something comparable to the stories of Daniel, namely the *Br’er Rabbit* stories. West Africa being a tributary to the production of *Br’er Rabbit*, the protagonist, the trickster Br’er Rabbit, represents the African slave who uses wit to expose and ridicule power. *Br’er Rabbit* showed African slaves and other people in unequal power

⁵⁰ Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, 34.

⁵¹ Smith-Christopher, *The Book of Daniel*, 30.

arrangements how to survive and transcend their experience of subjugation. Myth-making and story-telling are subtle yet powerful acts of resistance.

1.7 Daniel Berrigan

In his *Daniel, Under the Siege of the Divine*, poet, priest and anti-Vietnam War activist Daniel Berrigan posits that the Book of Daniel is “premonitory of the methods of tyrants.”⁵²

The Book of Daniel is not a story of success, how to achieve success in the Diaspora. Quite the contrary, according to Berrigan, it is about the risks and rewards of obeying a sovereign God, who is sovereign over the subalterns and the powerful.⁵³ Daniel displays the heroic in obedience to the sovereign God by resisting. That resistance is grounded in saying no to the king’s food and patronage system, which were extracted from weaker peoples through violence. Though empire offers luxuries and other possibilities, violence is the tool to extract those possibilities from others.

For Berrigan, the stories of Daniel represent the “humor of the oppressed and a view from below.”⁵⁴ Resistance is stressful, trying on the resister’s psyche. The proper outlet for such stress is humor, mockery, deflation and mimicry. According to Berrigan, humor lightens oppression.⁵⁵ Another outlet for the oppressed is prayer. Daniel’s prayer is a “pastiche of scriptural literacy.”⁵⁶ Daniel’s prayers are informed by the Psalms, Job, Exodus, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. Through prayer Daniel transcends his immediate circumstances of oppression and suppression. Daniel’s prayer, according to Berrigan, is subversive. In the arsenal

⁵² David Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine* (Farmington, PA: Plough Publishing House, 1998), ix.

⁵³ Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine*, 12.

⁵⁴ Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine*, 26.

⁵⁵ Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine*, 13.

⁵⁶ Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine*, 29.

of the resistance, prayer comes first. Next comes patient enduring, whose way is lightened through humor, mockery and mimicry in the shadow space. Finally comes action whose end may be martyrdom.⁵⁷

1.8 George Buchanan

Buchanan's *Book of Daniel* continues in the vein of resistance when he describes Daniel's stories and visions as Midrashic dramas of redemption that fete the Hasmonean military victory over the Seleucids. Buchanan is convinced that once readers of Daniel understand that it is not prophecy, then the book makes sense as redemptive literature.⁵⁸

For years, according to Buchanan, midrash was thought to be solely a rabbinical phenomenon. Studies in intertextuality have broadened the category of midrash to locate the phenomenon within scripture itself. Scripture comments on other scriptures.⁵⁹ Buchanan sees three types of midrash in scripture: 1) homiletic midrash, wherein an author builds a sermon or an exhortatory address using other scripture as a foundation; 2) running midrash occurs when an author comments on every passage of a book; and 3) narrative midrash occurs when words or concepts of an intertext are weaved into a story.⁶⁰ Daniel utilizes the first and third modes of midrash. It seeks to proffer a narrative that celebrates the victory of the Hasmoneans over the Seleucids. Daniel has less to do with apocalyptic literature; it is redemptive literature. For Buchanan, the category of apocalyptic problematizes the book. It is certainly not a book about the eschatological end in apocalyptic tones. It has to do with the end of an era, the end of the Seleucid presence in Judea. Daniel seeks to fete that era; hence, according to Buchanan, the

⁵⁷ Berrigan, *Under the Siege of the Divine*, 126.

⁵⁸ George Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Biblical, 1999), xxvi.

⁵⁹ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 1.

⁶⁰ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 1.

book is replete with victorious tones, not the somber tones of a persecuted people longing for the eschatological end when God intervenes to right the wrongs of history. Buchanan is convinced that Daniel was not written in the context of persecution, but in optimistic normalcy such as might have been initiated by Judas Maccabeus.⁶¹ As Esther is the historical warrant for the festival of Purim, so Daniel becomes such for Hanukkah in 164 B.C.E. History here is understood as mythological history. It is an artistic interpretation of events, not an objective retelling of events as they actually happened. It is not the historian, but the photographer; it is the historian as mythologist, as an artist who interprets events based on canons deemed important.⁶²

Buchanan, moreover, sees no rift between the Hasidim and the Hasmoneans. They were all pro-Hasmonean.⁶³ Daniel is not a nonviolent manifesto against the machinations of the Hasmoneans. Buchanan notes the author of Daniel may have had Judas Maccabeus in mind when he wrote of “one like the son of man who stood before the Ancient of Days.”⁶⁴ Buchanan, of course, is mindful that he is swimming against the current of established scholarship in this interpretation. He is convinced, however, that there is little evidence of an antipathy between the Hasmoneans and the Hasidim, at least not at the time of the writing of Daniel. Granted, at some point there may have been unanimity of political design. Nevertheless, a rift did occur between the Hasmoneans and the Hasidim. The historical bone of contention is when that rift may have occurred. There was indeed antipathy between the Hasmoneans and the Hasidim; otherwise, the Qumran community would not have developed. In the end, Daniel was initially written and used

⁶¹ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 426.

⁶² Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 398.

⁶³ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 431.

⁶⁴ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 431.

for celebration. Later it got repurposed as a vehicle for Jews to endure persecution through the use of faith and religious practice.⁶⁵

1.9 André Lacocque

Inasmuch as the Book of Daniel has a wide usage among many groups, Lacocque would insist on the importance of establishing well the *Sitz im Leben* of Daniel to fend off the eschatological pretenses of modern readers. Daniel is not a commentary on any present-day economic or social crisis. As noted above, many scholars (Buchanan) are dubious about the apocalyptic element in the book. Yet, Daniel has been instrumental in providing to emerging Christianity its foundational apocalyptic theology. Lacocque avers that the text's purpose is to comment on the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV.⁶⁶ To the extent that the book speaks to the persecuted Jews in the middle of the second century B.C.E., it deals with the conundrum of persecution and the proper response to it. It is not a book about theological abstractions, but the thorny issue of suffering and evil and the proper response to sanctioned torture.⁶⁷ For Lacocque, the Jewish reaction to Hellenism constitutes the *Sitz im Leben* and the overall historical meaning of the book.⁶⁸ The Jewish reaction is not a violent one; it is not an armed struggle, which is of “little help.” Daniel and his followers believe that God will reverse the reality of persecution. This is God’s fight; hence, God must marshal the resources of heaven in this existential fight.

⁶⁵ Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, 443.

⁶⁶ Andre Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, translated by David Pellauer (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979) xix.

⁶⁷ Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, xx.

⁶⁸ Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, xx.

1.10 David Valeta

With his work *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, Valeta proposes to offer a new genre to understand the stories of Daniel 1- 6. He labels that genre “prenovelistic Menippean satire.”⁶⁹ Valeta tags his genre prenovelistic in the sense that it lacks the length of the novel and Menippean satire. The *raison d'être* of Menippean satire is to attack mental attitudes: the mental attitudes of the powerful and highminded. Daniel 1- 6, according to Valeta, are tales that resist the political oppressive forces through the use of humor and satire.⁷⁰ To articulate this humor and satire, Daniel uses absurdities, distortions, ironies, fantastic situations, unbelievable elements, the grotesque, word play and other rhetorical devices.⁷¹ Daniel, then, joins the implicit satirical judgment of the potentates in Daniel 1- 6 with the explicit judgment of them in Daniel 7- 12. Daniel 7, the apogee of the whole book and unifier of it, ends in the judgment of the empires.⁷² Both sections of Daniel are subversive; they are unified by the subversive motif. Valeta, accordingly, sees one author behind both sections.⁷³ Though the Book of Daniel is replete with a “pastiche of genres,” languages and ideological viewpoints, nevertheless the book is the unified production of one author informed by the theme of subversion and resistance. Given the complexity of the Daniel, it has produced interpreters who have committed the postcolonial sin of metonymy, extrapolating from the singular to the whole, focusing on one aspect of the book and making it the interpretative lens through which to interpret the whole book. It is for this reason that one can find a seeming infinite array of interpretations and

⁶⁹ David M. Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions: A Satirical Reading of Daniel 1 – 6* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2008), 1.

⁷⁰ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 2.

⁷¹ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 5.

⁷² Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 6.

⁷³ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 30.

diachronic histories about the book. Complexity is not necessarily the product of many people over many years. Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* is a most complex novel. No one would ever suggest that it was produced by many authors over many years.

For Valeta, moreover, the stories in the first part of Daniel are not factual accounts of life in the courts of the Diaspora.⁷⁴ They are exaggerated accounts of courtier life to amuse, entertain, and belittle the powerful. Through such satirical portrayals, the subaltern gets empowered in their shadow existence away from the sanctioned space and time of the powerful. They get empowered to subsequently resist, and where such resistance takes them is determined by their imagination and commitment. In this sense the stories offer hope.⁷⁵ The stories do not provide a social provenance.⁷⁶

Valeta offers his genre of prenovelistic Menippiean satire as a way to reflect about the stories in the first part of Daniel. Valeta's genre is influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin in the area of dialogism, heteroglossia and novelistic impulse.⁷⁷ Valeta avers that his genre would explain the four conundrums of research into the Book of Daniel, namely the relationship of Daniel 1 - 6 to Daniel 7 - 12; the bilingualism of Daniel; the social history of imperialism and colonialism in Daniel; and the comedic, political satire in the book.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 19.

⁷⁵ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 20.

⁷⁶ Here Valeta agrees with Philip Davies in "Reading Daniel Sociologically" in Van Der Woude's *The Book of Daniel in Light of New Findings*, where he claims that there is no consensus on the social provenance of Daniel 1 - 6. It is not possible to know the derivation of the stories. They are a creative production like any novel.

⁷⁷ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 21.

⁷⁸ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 21.

Valeta uses Ze'ev Weisman's *Political Satire in the Bible* (1999) to delineate the major characteristics of political satire: 1) sordid criticism; 2) concrete criticism aimed historical personalities, institutions and political systems; 3) taunts and the expression of joy over the downfall of a personality or system; 4) use of animosity and insult; 5) the use of rhetorical elements for a polemical purpose; 6) the implementation of nicknames or code names; and 7) the use of the absurd or grotesque.

For Bakhtin, the utterance is foundational to social discourse. The discourse can be a single word or whole text like a novel.⁷⁹ An utterance never stands alone. There is always a response to it. Bakhtin uses heteroglossia to indicate the process an utterance undergoes in a social context. Utterances take on a life of their own in that context. The author has no power over an utterance once it is articulated. Heteroglossia indicates the complex and rich ways that humans use language and respond to utterances.⁸⁰

Heteroglossia, moreover, gives rise to consent and dialogism. The force behind dialogism is that every utterance enters into an interactive relationship with its past, present and likely future.⁸¹ For Bakhtin, an utterance always responds to what came before it and what may come after it. Here the concept of intertextuality becomes central to the thinking of Bakhtin. Every text and utterance are intertextual. Every text and utterance are ideologically and socially loaded. They are meant to be in dialogue. The grotesque thing empire does is to foist its monological texts onto the subaltern. Empire locks the subaltern in a limiting dogma about itself and invites no dialogue. It is about control and power over its subjects. Daniel as a subversive text, as a prenovelistic, Menippean, satirical piece in Daniel 1 - 6, mocks and ridicules the pretenses of the Greek potentate. Daniel sets its subversive text against the king's monologic text. Daniel uses the genre of Menippean satire as a counter text.⁸²

⁷⁹ Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions*, 40.

⁸⁰ Valeta, *Ovens and Lions and Visons*, 42.

⁸¹ Valeta, *Ovens and Lions and Visions*, 43.

⁸² On page 63 of his work, Valeta delineates the Menippean in the following way: 1) comic elements; 2) a freedom of plot and philosophical inventiveness; 3) a use of extraordinary, fantastic situations or wild parodic displays of learning to test the truth; 4) some combination of both crude and lofty imagery, setting and themes; 5) a concern for ultimate questions; 6) scenes and dialogues from the earthly, heavenly and netherwordly realms; 7) observation of behavior from an unusual vantage point; 8) characters who experience unusual, abnormal moral and psychic states; 9) characters who participate in scandals, eccentric behavior and inappropriate speech; 10) sharp contrasts and oxymoronic combinations; 11) elements of social utopia; 12) a variety of inserted genres within the work; 13) a multistyled, multitonned or multivoiced work that is dialogically based; and 14) concern with topical and current issues.

1.11 Shane Kirkpatrick

Kirkpatrick proffers a social scientific reading of Daniel. A social scientific approach to the Bible is key to avoiding the twin sins of anachronism and ethnocentrism. When confronted by gaps in the texts of the Bible, the reader's mind fills in the gaps with his/her own experience.⁸³ If nature hates a vacuum, then the human mind even more so. The social scientific method applied to the Book of Daniel would yield that Daniel is resistance literature. It is resistance against the threat of Hellenistic cultural hegemony.⁸⁴ The stories in Daniel 1 - 6 develop resistance by comparing the Judean tradition to that of Hellenistic tradition. Honor is at stake in the comparison: the honor of the divine kinsman.⁸⁵ Kirkpatrick follows Frank Moore Cross is his insistence that the concept that fuels the notion of covenant is kinship. Covenant is best understood as a kinship reality.⁸⁶ At the core of the covenantal relationship is honor, which, Kirkpatrick says, is a social phenomenon, which is based on anthropological studies.⁸⁷ Resistance is a call to fidelity to the Judean tradition articulated in the covenantal relationship wherein the honor of God and the whole people is at stake.

Daniel's refusal to eat the king's food, moreover, is a rejection of the Babylonian tradition.⁸⁸ To share in the king's food was to be in a dependent relationship with the king; it was to lose honor, to shame God, on whom alone Daniel was to be dependent for insight, wisdom and moral vigor. In Daniel's competition with the Babylonian sages, it is God who gives him the virtue to reproduce the king's dream and subsequently interpret it. This was

⁸³ Shane Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor: A Social-Scientific Reading of Daniel 1 – 6* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 3.

⁸⁴ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 3.

⁸⁵ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 30.

⁸⁶ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 24.

⁸⁷ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 31.

⁸⁸ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 42.

granted to Daniel because of his faithfulness to his sacred tradition. Daniel was no more intelligent, wise or better educated than the other sages; God honored his faithfulness in his refusal to be dependent on the king by sharing in his cultural accoutrements.⁸⁹ According to Kirkpatrick, Daniel is speaking to those who are being lured to the Greek way of life. Daniel is a call for Jews to resist foreign ways and remain faithful to their own sacred traditions.

1.12 Danna Fewell

In her work *Circle of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel*, Fewell takes a more nuanced approach to resistance. Daniel is faithful to both the king and God. Leading a double life, a hybrid existence in postcolonial terms, Daniel prospers in service to the king and in faithfulness to God. There is no sharp dualism between God and human actors. They are in an interdependent relationship. Faithfulness on the part of humans articulates God's presence in the world.⁹⁰ Given the interdependency between God and Humans, the political square becomes important. There is no divorcing religion from politics, as people in the West are wont to do. For Fewell, the central issue in Daniel is a political one, namely sovereignty in the human world.⁹¹ Who is to be sovereign in the world: God or Nebuchadnezzar? Eating at the king's table hinges on this question who is to be sovereign and to whom will Daniel be beholden? To partake of the king's food was to be indebted to the king.⁹² With every act of refusal to follow the king's ways, ironically, Daniel is rewarded with more political power. Daniel rises to the top from the bottom through faithfulness to both God and the king.

⁸⁹ Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor*, 57.

⁹⁰ Danna Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Abington Press, 1991), 136.

⁹¹ Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 12.

⁹² Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty*, 17.

1.13 Anathea Portier-Young

Anathea Portier-Young's *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* brings forward the previous research into Daniel as resistance literature. According to Portier-Young, resistance addresses the strategies of domination.⁹³ Resistance tries to limit and circumvent acts of domination through the multifaceted media of counter discourse. The apocalypses in early Judaism serve this counter discourse. The counter discourse can extend beyond words to "embodied" acts, like prayer, fasting, fighting and martyrdom.⁹⁴ Portier-Young notes that these embodied acts bespeak a transferal of power from earth to heaven, from the potentate to God.

In the articulation of counter discourse, the apocalypses employ any number of strategies to expose the repressive ideology of empire. One myth counters another myth. The myth of the heavenly journey in the apocalypses is meant to signal where the real seat of power resides in the universe: it is God in heaven. Journeys to heaven relativize the absolutized power strategies of empire.⁹⁵

The review of history is another strategy used by apocalypses to relativize imperial power and pierce its mythological structure. This technique originated the ancient Near East as a form of resistance to Macedonian and Seleucid rule.⁹⁶ A review of history demonstrates the impermanence of empire. God uses empire for God's sovereign purpose. Nebuchadnezzar is not a free agent. A review of history such as one would find in Daniel is subversive.

⁹³ Anathea Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Company, 2011), 11.

⁹⁴ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 13.

⁹⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 13.

⁹⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 30.

Portier-Young, moreover, concedes the influence of James Scott relative to the topic of resistance, especially the subtle, quotidian ways the subaltern might resist. The apocalypses do not resist in hidden ways, however. They are bold in stripping away pretenses to power. The apocalypses speak out against the absolutizing schemes of empire and proffer a counter discourse.⁹⁷ According to Portier-Young, apocalypse makes visible what is invisible and tags it “monstrous.”⁹⁸ The apocalypses were produced pseudonymously not as a hidden transcript to hide their work, but to claim that the source of the apocalypse was God. Pseudonymity, then, serves a subversive purpose.

My research garners insight from all the scholars mentioned in this survey of the literature. I am one with them in positing Daniel as resistance literature for all the multivalent reasons they use to support their theses. As resistance literature, Daniel serves a serious purpose, which Portier-Young demonstrates in her work on apocalypses as theologies of resistance. Theologies of resistance serve to articulate a counter discourse to the empire’s absolutizing discourses. In the articulation of that theology, both Kirkpatrick and Fewell add significant theological pieces informed by honor and shame and political sovereignty. Resistance literature also has a playful side, a mocking, satirical side that empowers subalterns just as much as serious theological reflection. The suppressed and oppressed psyche needs both. Such a psyche needs serious deliberation and satirical play in the context of an infrastructure. The work of Plöger, Hanson, and Davies attempt to locate the social context of apocalyptic works like Daniel. Movements have significant and lasting influence in an infrastructure that transcends time and place. The Temple was such a place. Valeta’s research is significant in articulating the

⁹⁷ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 35.

⁹⁸ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 35.

psychological effects of resistance literature as satire. Subjugated peoples under the oppressive thumb of a colonizing power need to laugh. There is power in laughing and mocking the pretenses of power. James Scott demonstrates how this occurs in the hidden transcripts of the subaltern.

My research, then, is dependent on all the aforementioned scholars, especially Portier-Young's excellent treatment of the social, political and economic context of mid-second century Judea under Antiochus IV. However, I would problematize Portier-Young in the following way. Indeed, Daniel proffers a subversive text to resist the arrogance of Antiochus IV. Daniel, however, also proffers a resistant mystical practice that is as much an utterance as the text itself. Daniel's mysticism is a resisting mysticism. As such, it is not a mysticism focused on spiritual, metaphysical vagaries. It is a mysticism informed by a certain people, informed by their own unique religious values to hold their psyches together. A resisting mysticism is postcolonial.

Portier-Young, moreover, falls prey to the major criticism of postcolonial theory and practice as being too text driven. Postcolonial theory in the hands of the academy (Derrida, Foucault, Said, Bhabha and Spivak) has produced an overemphasis on text, as though texts were the only significance utterances that motivate subalterns to resist. In Portier-Young's work, there is less emphasis on the resisting person: how such a person may prepare herself/himself for resistance in the context of everyday life. The looming question is what is in the mind of the resister. It is not enough to resist; how does one decolonize one's mind after resistance? How does one heal one's psyche of the monstrous images of empire? A postcolonial mysticism can serve the project of both resistance and decolonialization.

In some interpreters' work there is no connection the between the spiritual practices of Daniel 1- 6 and the apocalyptic visions and other mystical experiences that may have been

produced by such practices. For instance, Martha Himmelfarb thinks that there is little evidence that would suggest the author of Daniel had a mystical experience that could be characterized as an ascent to heaven.⁹⁹ Himmelfarb avers that Daniel's bodily preparations were not vehicles through which his visions occurred; they did not occasion the ascent to the throne room of God or any other mystical experience. Richard Horsley counters that mystical experiences abound among persecuted and subjugated peoples.¹⁰⁰ Himmelfarb represents an all-too-common approach to the two sections of the Book of Daniel that creates a rift between the two sections, as though one has nothing to do with the other. This rift affords them the warrant to come up with all kinds of diachronic schemes of the composition of Daniel that compromise its unity. If one does not see the visions as produced by a mystical encounter, then certainly one would not think that Daniel's spiritual preparations in the stories would have anything to do with such an encounter. This represents a misunderstanding of religion in general and mysticism in particular. In the stories, Daniel uses the *via mystica*, the longstanding practice of mystics to prepare themselves for a mystical encounter. Whether the encounter comes or not is God's prerogative. God is sovereign. The *via mystica* is a disciplined lifestyle in serious study, fasting, prayer, penance and dietary restrictions. Daniel certainly demonstrates such a disciplined lifestyle in the first half of the book. It is a lifestyle committed to being faithful to a sovereign God.

Lester Grabbe posits, moreover, that a worldview is not merely conveyed by texts.¹⁰¹ Ideas are spread in divers of ways. According to Grabbe, they are spread like diseases through human contact and social interaction. Experience is missing in too many scholarly treatments of

⁹⁹ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 110.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries and Politics of the Second Temple* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 179.

¹⁰¹ Lester L. Grabbe, Gabriele Boccaccini, and Jason M. Zurawski, eds., *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview* (New York: Bloomsbury Clark, 2016), 8.

apocalyptic.¹⁰² Grabbe would agree with the scholarly consensus that Daniel 7 - 12 arose in the Maccabean crisis in 167 to 164 B.C.E. He is not willing to say, however, that the author himself did not experience the visions.¹⁰³

Certainly, Daniel produces a written subversive text. He also proffers himself as a resisting person to be emulated in times of crisis or not. Scholarship has made it clear that crisis need not catalyze the production of apocalyptic. Daniel resists in practical ways to prepare himself for a mystical experience that is transcendent to the chaos precipitated by the times in which he is living. Daniel offers a mystical way to resist. He seeks to alter his consciousness in the face of suppression to be open to possibilities other than those deriving from the imperial script.

¹⁰² Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 9.

¹⁰³ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 15.

Chapter Two

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Form Criticism

By way of general introductory remarks, in 1870 Julius Wellhausen proposed the literary sources of the Pentateuch to be Yahwist (J), Elohist (E), Deuteronomist (D) and Priestly (P).¹⁰⁴ These layers of the Pentateuch demonstrated in their distinctive nature to be products of different authors. They were brought together through various editorial devices to create one document. Wellhausen was not concerned with the oral prehistory of these sources, as that content did not provide meaningful fodder for the scholar or preacher. His method was literary criticism. The scholarly mood soon after Wellhausen's publication began to change. This was the era of the founding of the German nation. Scholars were on the lookout for what was unique about the German culture that would moor the German nation. Research into German folktales and primitive culture served the nationalistic mood.

Hermann Gunkel, moreover, yielded to the cultural dynamics of the late 19th century and applied them to research into the preliterary, oral history of the Hebrew Bible. Caught up in the cultural milieu of German nationalism's mad dash to authentic, cultural antecedents, Gunkel focused on the oral unit. The written text was seen as a diminution of the authentic orality behind a text. German scholarship was beholden to a cultural Platonism of privileging the ideal over the real. Wellhausen valued J as a more authentic expression of religion. J was perceived as having an intimacy with God that the later documents failed to have. E placed angelic intermediaries between God and religious adherents. D placed the word between them. And, the

¹⁰⁴ Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1957), 6-13.

furthest away from J was P, the priestly tradition, which placed its priestly rituals between God and the people. Gunkel expressed his own cultural, platonic bias when he compared the small oral unit to the written text. His method can be characterized as oral tradition, which privileges the smallest oral unit. A collection of small oral units become conglomerated into larger narrative units. Gunkel insisted that behind the primitive history of Genesis there stands a Babylonian oral history that informs the myths of the first eleven chapters. Oral units that were similar in a motif-like way he classified as sharing the same genre. Genre in Gunkel's system became mere classification. The *Sitz im Leben* for the production of the oral stories he located at the family hearth. Later scholarship would posit that the actual setting for the primitive history of Genesis 1 - 11 was the Temple. What scholars have come to understand is that not every written text has an expansive oral history. Given his focus on orality, Gunkel insisted that the ancient mind could only handle short units.¹⁰⁵ According to Gunkel, ancient storytellers were incapable of constructing works of considerable length. This was bias.¹⁰⁶

With Rolf Knierim, the old form critical school comes to an end. Influenced as he was by the structuralists, Knierim's focus was on what is going in the heart and mind of the author. He wants to know about the author's *Geistesbeschäftigung*. For structuralists like Levi-Strauss, there are structures of the mind that are universal to all people.¹⁰⁷ Language and its accoutrements become important in articulating those hidden structures. For Knierim, many texts do not have complex oral histories looming behind them. They are the products of people who write to express what is in the inner structures of their minds. To get at that mind, the

¹⁰⁵ Hermann Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 46-47.

¹⁰⁶ Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis*, trans, Mark E, Briddle (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), vii. Gunkel argues that the ancient mind is incapable of producing an objective historiography.

¹⁰⁷ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropology and Myth: Lectures 1951-1982*, trans. Roy Willis (New York: Basil Blackwell, Incorporated, 1987), 23.

interpreter must pay close attention to the whole structure of the text. The whole structure carries the meaning as well as the ideology. For Knierim, also, genre is not one dimensional, locked into hard and fast realities that keep it rigid and inflexible. To the extent that genres participate in the overall structure of the text, they are dynamic and most flexible. The genre, constituting a part of the structure, is not all-determinative.

Old form criticism, moreover, was diachronic, ferreting out the various compositional histories of a given text. With Knierim, synchronic concerns arise: the text in its final form becomes the preoccupation of contemporary form critical scholars. Given the importance of a synchronic focus, the text in its final form, the role of the redactor gets highlighted in the thinking of Knierim. The redactor is the impetus through whom a tradition grows and expands to greater enlightenment. Instead of seeing the written text as a denigration of some platonic ideal, Knierim and his followers appreciate the expansion of texts leading to greater enlightenment. The form critical methodology of this dissertation is informed by Rolf Knierim and those who were influenced by his insistence on putting genre and structure in the right order and giving them their commensurate attention in keeping with that order. Knierim and his followers¹⁰⁸ open up the concept of genre. They make it flexible, so that complex texts can be appreciated and interpreted. Apocalyptic is a complex genre. Apocalyptic as a hybrid phenomenon cannot be understood without a flexible take on genre.

¹⁰⁸ Marvin M. Sweeney, a student of Knierim, states the following about the changing face of form criticism: "Form critical studies will no longer concern themselves only or mainly with the typical features of language and text. Rhetorical criticism and communication theory have aptly demonstrated that the communicative and persuasive functions of texts depend on the unique as well the typical. Moreover, in considering the rhetorical or communicative aspects of texts, form critical scholars will no longer presume that genres are static or ideal entities that never change. Rather, they will recognize the inherent fluidity of genres, the fact that they are historically, culturally and discursively dependent, and they will study the means by which genres are transformed to meet the needs of the particular communicative situation of the text." Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003), 9-10.

To the extent that this dissertation is dependent on Knierim, the structure of the text will take center stage.¹⁰⁹ The structure yields the meaning of the text. The structure drives the ideology of the text. The structure gets at what is in the mind of the author. Knierim is not obsessed with the beginning of the text as he is with the final product, for the final product gets at what he calls the “anthropological factor” of a text, which form critics had ignored because of a fixation on orality.¹¹⁰ The anthropological factor is the human presence behind texts. “Texts owe their existence to human beings,” says Knierim.¹¹¹ Humans are a dynamic category. Ever the protean beings they are, to deal with the anthropological factor is to deal with human complexity. This complexity is not appreciated and is vitiated by an approach to interpretation that is not equally dynamic and complex. An approach that is not dynamic and flexible has the effect of “barring humans from the texts they produce,”¹¹² for it cannot get at what is essential about the humans behind the production of the texts. According to Knierim, Gunkel’s methodology that fixated him on the oral prehistory of a text did not have sufficient criteria to articulate the quality and nature of the oral language behind the text.¹¹³ Rightly placed on the human, on the anthropological factor, the interpreter comes to understand the written text as a “*sui generis*. ”¹¹⁴ The text and its anthropological structure become a unique reality that demands the utmost of attention, not some platonic ideal of an oral past. The anthropological structure is what Knierim calls the *Geistesbeschäftigung* of the author: what is going on in the

¹⁰⁹ Rolf Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction” in *Reading the Hebrew Bible for a New Millennium*, eds. Wonil Kim, Deborah Ellens, Michael Floyd and Marvin A. Sweeney (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 15.

¹¹⁰ Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition and Redaction,” 36.

¹¹¹ Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition and Redaction,” 36.

¹¹² Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition and Redaction,” 36.

¹¹³ Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition and Redaction,” 23.

¹¹⁴ Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition and Redaction,” 24.

author's mind. What are the author's dreams, aspirations, and especially the author's hegemonic ideologies?

For Knierim, moreover, structural analysis is the way to address the anthropological factor, to get at the *Geistesbeschäftigungen* of the human presence behind the text. Structural analysis, the step-child of old form criticism as it was given less attention than genre and setting,¹¹⁵ gives proper attention to the literary issues of a text. Structural analysis appreciates texts as whole entities.¹¹⁶ Form criticism that evolves beyond old form criticism concerns itself with the literary factors that go into the making of the text as a whole entity. Structural analysis is the tool that articulates those literary factors. Accordingly, the critic must pay close attention to rhetorical flourishes and style of a text, for they govern a text.¹¹⁷ These rhetorical and stylistic devices include but are not limited to acrostic poetry, parallelism, word association, inversion, meter, chiasm, etc.¹¹⁸ According to Knierim, other patterns can inform a text: the decalogue (Exodus 20), the trial (Hosea 2, Jeremiah 9), the itinerary (Deuteronomy 1 – 3), the messenger communication speech, the seven-day week, contrast, covenant, or ordeal (Numbers 5).¹¹⁹ A text as a whole entity can be informed by an organizing point of view: process of thought, climax, theodicy, a standard creed and an overarching motif.¹²⁰ There are factors that determine narrativity: the author's arrangement of events may be informed by a certain value or desired outcome or climax. Narratives are rife with theological concerns, family histories and relationships, foundational narratives that give color to a holy place or teaching, or various other

¹¹⁵ Rolf Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered" in *Reading the Hebrew Bible for a New Millennium*, eds. Wonil Kim, Deborah Ellens, Michael Floyd and Marvin A. Sweeney (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 63.

¹¹⁶ Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 64.

¹¹⁷ Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 64.

¹¹⁸ Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 64.

¹¹⁹ Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 64.

¹²⁰ Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," 64.

existential concerns produced by the complexity of being human.¹²¹ Given the complexity of humans, Knierim notes “there is a great diversity of structural principles.”¹²² To get at these structural principles, the interpreter must focus on the text. A close examination of the text yields the structural framework driving the text.

Moreover, given the close inspection of the text to determine its informing structure, a text proffers to the interpreter what is unique to it. Old form criticism’s understanding of genre was mere classification. A genre classification was created out of several texts, thereby producing an overarching concept of a genre with which the interpreter returned to the text to exegete it. This procedure failed to recognize what was unique about a text. Knierim calls this process a “monolithic conception of genre.”¹²³ Knierim’s work opened up a whole new understanding of genre in relation to the whole text as an entity. The genre is not the free agent standing independently of the text, determining the literary and social contours of the text. The genre is only a part of the text. The author is free to determine how he/she wants to communicate. The author is not imprisoned by genre. The genre is in the structure, not the structure in the genre. Knierim notes the genre does not govern the whole text.¹²⁴ An author is at liberty to use a multitudinous array of genres in a text to articulate the richness of his/her conscious and subconscious mind, thus making the text the author produces a complex production. Old form criticism could not appreciate rich complex texts because of the homogeneity of genre classification. The creative human being got lost behind the wall of genre classification.

¹²¹ Knierim, “Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered,” 65.

¹²² Knierim, “Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered,” 65.

¹²³ Knierim, “Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered,” 70.

¹²⁴ Knierim, “Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered,” 66.

Rolf Knierim's work produced a new relationship between the various elements of the text as a *sui generis* phenomenon. Carol Newsom follows Knierim in seeking to expand the imaginary and creative capacity of genre. Without such an understanding, the complex multi-genre and multi-authorial works like Job cannot be understood.¹²⁵ Newsom sees herself as correcting the bad reputation of genre as mere classification.¹²⁶ Genre cannot get jettisoned, as it is a necessary social phenomenon.¹²⁷ Human communication is dependent on genre. The definition of genre must be stretched to demonstrate the multiple ways that genre grounds the communicative event. Humans understand one genre in reference to others. Genre, moreover, is foundational to an author's communication with his/her audience. Newsom says, "Genre negotiates the author's communicative relationship with readers."¹²⁸ It is the author's creative use of genre that drives the rhetoric of a text. The communicative event is a "dance of intertextual conversation."¹²⁹ Through the use of genre, the author is in dialogue with his/her readers. Known genres can be stretched, exaggerated or minimized to communicate. An intertextual conversation, then, occurs between the author and the audience. According to Newsom, genres do not possess texts; texts participate in genres. The text may invoke a genre only to ignore it, to alter it, to extrapolate from it, or to merely play with it.¹³⁰ The author has freedom in the selection of genres and the use of them in the communicative event. The author uses them in creative ways. As with Knierim, the focus should be on the human behind the use of the genre, as genre is not the all-determinative category.

¹²⁵ Carol Newsom, *The Book of Job: The Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

¹²⁶ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 11.

¹²⁷ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 11.

¹²⁸ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 11.

¹²⁹ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 12.

¹³⁰ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 12.

According to Newsom, moreover, complex productions like the Book of Job employ many genres. These genres are in conversation with each other. In a text like Job, each voice through genre contributes to the complexity of the communicative event.¹³¹ The communicative event can be either polyphonic or monologic.¹³² A polyphonic communicative event dialogues with the truth. There is no privileged position. There is no closure to the conversation. A monologic communicative event is just the opposite. Truth in the monologic communicative event is propositionally established by one authoritative voice. By its very nature, the monologic communicative event is a privileged one. And, there is closure to the communicative event. Newsom's insight will be key in this dissertation when trying to distinguish between the monologic voice of empire and the suppressed voices of the subalterns seeking to be heard. She hereby gives the contours of each voice. Key to the decolonizing project of a postcolonial interpretation of scripture is to bring forward voices suppressed by the monologic, communitive event of empire.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1885 - 1975) is a source for Newsom's understanding of genre, as he has influenced many interpreters in articulating the relationship between genre and intertextuality in fluid and flexible ways. The darkest days in Russian history occurred in the decade after the revolution of 1917. Yet, these years proved most productive for Bakhtin. While in exile in Kazakhstan, he published several books on an array of topics like Freud, Marx, Dostoevsky and the philosophy of language. As a philosopher of language and communication, Bakhtin was concerned with the other "voicedness" in the communicative event. In the reflections produced from this concern, Bakhtin has influenced postmodernism, poststructuralism, and

¹³¹ Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 17.

¹³² Newsom, *The Book of Job*, 21.

postcolonialism, as all three are focused on the recovery of voices suppressed by the universal, hegemonic script. His term for other voicedness is “heteroglossia.”¹³³ Heteroglossia is the presence of two or more voices expressing alternative and conflicting ideas. Other key Bakhtin’s concepts are “chronotype,” which, according to Carolyn Shields, Bakhtin borrowed from the Theory of Relativity to express the mutual interaction of space and time. “Dialogue” is Bakhtin’s term for not mere communication, but openness to difference.¹³⁴ The “carnival” is Bakhtin’s term for those aspects of life or takes on it that are free and spontaneous and thereby open up other conduits leading to a fuller experience of life. One of those conduits to fuller experience is laughter. Bakhtin says, “Laughter has the remarkable power of making an object come up close, of drawing it into a zone of crude contact where one can finger it familiarly. . . . Laughter demolishes fear and piety before an object.”¹³⁵ This provides a warrant for David Valeta to interpret the stories of the first part of Daniel as prenovelistic Menippean satire. Daniel understands the subaltern’s use of laughter and ridicule to make the subjugating, imperial powers appear smaller in order to negotiate and overcome fear.

Menippean satire, according to Bakhtin, exposes ideologies and ideologues.¹³⁶ It is also dialogic, inviting an alternative perspective. Menippean satire empowers the subaltern. As a text, it has an utterance at its core. The utterance is the *locus* where Bakhtin says centrifugal and centripetal forces come together. The centrifugal forces decentralize the communicative event in the direction of dialogic openness to many voices. The centripetal forces have the opposite

¹³³ Carolyn M. Shields, *Bakhtin Primer* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 1.

¹³⁴ Shields, *Bakhtin Primer*, 1.

¹³⁵ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Epic and Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 23.

¹³⁶ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel,” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 272.

effect; they are monologic. Utterances, then, are social phenomena. No utterance is in isolation. It invites other utterances that are anterior or posterior to the primary utterance. “The word is born in dialogue,” says Bakhtin.¹³⁷ “The word lives on the boundary between its own context and another alien context.”¹³⁸ In producing an utterance, the author does not own his/her utterance. It passes on from the author to the social world of dialogism, where it takes on a life never intended by the author. It takes on an intertextual life. Accordingly, there is no such thing as an univocal objectivity in the communication event.

Form criticism as informed by Knierim, Newsom and Bakhtin is the methodology with which I shall interpret the various texts of Daniel. That means determining the structure of the text and seeking the “anthropological” realities informing that structure. In this sense, the rhetorical flourishes are compelling, as they inform the uniqueness of the text, the structure. Next, I shall study the genres used by Daniel. Genre is not a hard and fast category of classification as in old form criticism; genres, however, are creative realities that serve the unique communicative event of resistance under Antiochus IV. An author is free to pick and choose genres and alter them to communicate. I shall denote genres as hybrid constructions, signs of Daniel taking back his language in defiance of Antiochus IV. In taking back his language he is taking back his humanity. I shall denote the creativity that went into the producing of Daniel’s genres, how he is informed by both his biblical tradition as well as the general Hellenistic world in which he lives. I shall, then, determine the *Sitz im Leben*, though genre alone will not be the determining factor of the setting. Gunkel gave genre too much power. A social scientific approach to Daniel such that one finds in Stephen Cook or Philip

¹³⁷ Bakhtin, “Discourses in the Novel,” 279.

¹³⁸ Bakhtin, “Discourses in the Novel,” 284.

Davies better yields the setting wherein Daniel produced his complex work. In keeping with the canons of form criticism, I shall denote the intention of each text. All this is the necessary diachronic work on a text. Such work impels one to appreciate the historical, social, and political context from which texts come. There are synchronic dimensions of a text that invite subsequent usage of a text beyond its immediate context. Postcolonial interpretations of each text assist in filling out the synchronic dimensions of each text. Such postcolonial interpretations open up the synchronic dimensions of Daniel that make it a classical production of resistance.

2.2 Postcolonial Interpretation

R. S. Sugirtharajah, arguably the most prolific interpreter of postcolonial, biblical interpretation, says that “post-colonial” thusly hyphenated indicates a historical marker, indicating the reality of a colonial existence without colonial hegemony.¹³⁹ Post-colonial India is India free of British rule. “Postcolonial” thusly written indicates a critical reflection of life in the aftermath of colonial rule. Postcolonial reflection is not merely a recounting of past atrocities; it is not a grievance industry. It looks forward to the possibilities of liberation, decolonization, renewal and healing. The prefix “post,” according to Homi Bhabha, is not a sign at which to stop, but a lure to move forward.¹⁴⁰

Postcolonial theory and practice are primarily focused on colonization and empire. Colonization can be defined as usurping other people’s resources.¹⁴¹ Colonialization can unfold in the following ways. There is administrative colonization where a colonizing power uses a bureaucracy and a military to colonize a people. In this scenario, there is not a great movement

¹³⁹ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 13.

¹⁴⁰ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1.

¹⁴¹ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 2015), 20.

of people and resources from the metropolitan center to the periphery. The ancient Persian Empire was adept at this form of colonization. Settler colonization occurs when a significant number of people from the metropolitan center settles in the colonized periphery. In some cases, the settlers mix with the colonized creating a hierarchy of race. Spanish colonization exemplifies this form of colonialization. Contrary to the practice of Spanish settlers, British settlers in North America did not mix with the populations where they settled. Plantation colonization is an arrangement whereby settlers import a subjugated people to produce a marketable crop, as in the experience of the African people imported to the Caribbean Islands and to the United States in greater numbers after 1793 when the cotton gin was put on line and increased cotton production as a raw world staple.¹⁴² In each scenario, postcolonial theory studies the relationship between the center and periphery, the metropole and the provinces.

Postcolonial thought, moreover, is critical of the imperial designs of the powerful over the weak. Such designs may take an insidious form in neo-colonization, an arrangement where people and sources are not exported from the metropole to the provinces any longer, but money certainly is. The United States is a contemporary, neo-colonial power on the world scene. Inasmuch as the abuse of power is endemic to human nature, there will always be a need for postcolonial, critical theory and praxis to expose the dynamic of colonization and empire and strive to correct it.

The philosophical tributaries to postcolonial theory are Marxism and Poststructuralism.¹⁴³ Being indebted to the Enlightenment, Marx was optimistic about the perfectibility of humanity. He studied social facts in order to improve humanity. For Marx, capitalism leads to the

¹⁴² Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Eyes of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 65.

¹⁴³ Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), viii.

alienation of humanity. Humans are alienated from their work, as capitalism has made them laboring animals who are alienated from the means of production. The means belong to someone else. The production deriving from the means determines everything for Marx; in a given society, it is the determinative context of all thoughts and mores. There is no such thing as ideas that are independent of the material means of production. In a given society, the prominent ideas are those of the elite, the powerful, as they own the means of production. This state of affairs leads, according to Marx, to a division of labor that is inherently unfair and repressive. Marx critically studies these material realities in society to correct the alienation. For Hegel, who informs the thinking of Marx, alienation is mental; for Marx, it is material. Because of his focus on the material sources of human problems, Marx became key in the subsequent development of social science theory. Inasmuch social science theory is focused on the behavior of humans and the cultural and material ways that behavior gets codified, Marx is an early catalyst of social science theory. Postcolonial thought is indebted to Marx for his optimism about the perfectibility of humans through a critical focus on the material means of production.

The capitalist system that Marx critiqued, moreover, has grown into a world system, though Marx saw already in the late 19th century the emerging global power of capitalism, an emergence begun in the 15th century when in 1444 the Europeans (Portuguese) took the first Africans out of Africa to produce a staple crop. The endless accumulation of capital since the 15th century has created inequities around the world. Marx gives postcolonial thinkers the critical tools to reflect on and address the capitalist world system, exposing its inequities and envisioning a fairer world. However, what postcolonial thinkers generally refuse in Marx is his universal narrative, Marx's vestige from Enlightenment. Marx's universal narrative caused him not to appreciate national movements' role in focusing on local injustices. Marx's universal

narrative made him an internationalist. Only later did he concede to the wisdom of a national focus as he reflected on the Irish movement for liberation. Instead of waiting for a universal, international proletariat movement to arise, Marx had to concede that national movements might serve the process along the way to upstage the capitalist status quo.

Postcolonial theory is also indebted to poststructuralism in the vein of Derrida and Foucault. They both used poststructuralism to critique the humanist tradition of the universal narrative. Poststructuralism is essentially discourse analysis. For it, the sign cannot convey perfectly its meaning. Meaning does not occur in the sign itself, but in the gap, in *différence*. The West's humanist universal narrative cancels out the other; it oppresses the other. Poststructuralism wants to pay attention to the other, to other voices.

Edward Said's work *Orientalism* was deeply influenced by poststructuralism.¹⁴⁴ His book is a foundational text of postcolonial theory. Orientalism is a discourse. It is a discourse that belittles the East. Orientalists put a wedge between the East and West through their discourse that suggests that the East is effeminate, waiting to be exploited. This demeaning discourse, according to Said, takes place in published books, travelogues, novels, which all mold an image in the mind of the West that the East is inferior.

Together with Said, Homi Bhabha is another important contributor to postcolonial theory. Bhabha was influenced by Said's *Orientalism*.¹⁴⁵ He took exception, however, to Said's presentation of discourse analysis; it was monologic in tone. Bhabha proffered a relationship between the East and West that was more nuanced. In the relationship between the subalterns and their supposed superiors there is both fear and respect. Poststructuralism in the hands of

¹⁴⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 23.

¹⁴⁵ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 106.

Bhabha meant that the relationship between subalterns and the colonizers is not so facile, so black and white, so monologic. That relationship produces ambiguity and hybridity, which over time topples hegemonic cultural arrangements better than guns. Hybridity is a form of resistance.¹⁴⁶

The third major contributor to postcolonial theory is Gayatri Spivak. Like both Said and Bhabha, she, too, was informed by poststructuralism, especially Derrida. For Spivak, poststructuralism is a doctrine of “catachresis,” Spivak’s term for the purposeful alternation of language to open up deep places of communication.¹⁴⁷ She problematizes all forms of fundamentalism, as they proffer an essentialism that is limiting.¹⁴⁸

Postcolonialism did not begin in the academy.¹⁴⁹ It began as a creative outlet of the subalterns in the Third World reflecting on their experience of colonialism and the postcolonial reality opened up after World Wars I and II. It was not enough for them to delineate the colonial sins of the past, though that played a necessary role in critical reflection.¹⁵⁰ According to Robert Young, postcolonial reflection mingles the past and the present, as it exposes the inhumanities of the colonial reality. Postcolonial reflection goes beyond the boundary of the past to healing, liberation and transformation.¹⁵¹ It is not enough to resist. What occurs after resistance? How do the subalterns heal? How do they decolonize their psyches? I shall survey the creative, Third World progenitors of postcolonial thought. I shall seek in their thought insight into strategies or praxis enabling subjugated peoples to decolonize themselves after colonialization. I shall use

¹⁴⁶ Musa Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), 51.

¹⁴⁷ Donna Landry and Gerald MacClean, eds., *The Spivak Reader* (London: Routledge, 1996), 143

¹⁴⁸ Donna Landry and Gerald MacClean, eds, *The Spivak Reader*, 68.

¹⁴⁹ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Exploring Postcolonial Biblical Criticism: History, Method, Practice* (United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 11.

¹⁵⁰ Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 4.

¹⁵¹ Musa Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*, 51.

what I garner from them and relate it to Daniel, for, as both Franz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre say, “All colonized people have much in common.”¹⁵²

Albert Memmi is a French writer of Jewish and Tunisian descent living in Algeria during the overthrow of the French colonial power in 1962. In his work *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, he speaks of the ambivalence in which subjugated peoples find themselves in colonial situations. According to Memmi, the ambivalence of the suppressed indigenous, Muslim population in Algeria comes through as both hatred and love for their French colonizers.¹⁵³ Colonial racism created this state of affairs when the French colonized Algeria in 1830. Racism is not coincidental to life in a colonialized reality. Memmi calls it a “consubstantial part of colonialism.”¹⁵⁴ From Memmi’s perspective, racism as an ideology is built on three foundations: 1) the distance between the culture of the French colonizers and the culture of colonized; the differences created by the distance or gap between the cultures are put in stark relief; 2) the colonizers’ exploitation of the differences when expedient; and 3) the differences carry mythological weight, as they are purported to be absolute fact.¹⁵⁵ In this state of affairs, Memmi is describing the emotional power of ideology. It is meant to create doubt in the subjugated and produce a “strange acquiesce” to their own mistreatment. Because of the power of the colonizer, the colonizer’s words have weight. In the minds of the powerless subalterns, the opinions of their colonizers may be right; they are backed up by power.¹⁵⁶ The subalterns are cast into a world of uncertainty that vitiates any assertion on their part to right the situation. Their spirits

¹⁵² Jean-Paul Sartre’s makes this statement in the introduction that he wrote for Albert Memmi’s *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Franz Fanon says on page 69 in his *Black Skin, White Masks*, “All forms of exploitation are alike.”

¹⁵³ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), x.

¹⁵⁴ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 74.

¹⁵⁵ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 71.

¹⁵⁶ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 87.

have been broken by the ideology of racism. It is here that there is a fundamental need for change, for the ambivalence produced by racism has moored the subaltern's psyche in fear, doubt and fantasies about being like their colonizers.¹⁵⁷ Something profoundly revolutionary has to occur at the psychic level.

In the desire to be like their colonizers, moreover, there is in the subaltern a profound rejection of self. According to Memmi, in the pursuit of improving themselves to emulate the colonizers, subalterns actually impoverish themselves. They tear away from their true selves.¹⁵⁸ Assimilation for Memmi is the problem. It is a problem because assimilation is defined by the terms of the colonizers. In assimilation the colonized lose themselves; they lose their traditions and all that is important to them.¹⁵⁹ Memmi concludes that assimilation is impossible.¹⁶⁰ Those who desire to assimilate pay an exorbitant price.¹⁶¹ It is an exorbitant price to the psyche: "A man saddling two cultures is rarely well seated."¹⁶² According to Memmi, assimilation can only work if it effects the whole subjugated population for their good and they change in the direction of that good. Memmi concludes that revolt is the only way out of a colonized situation.¹⁶³ The colonizer would never arrange assimilation for the advantage of all the people; they would lose power. Revolt is the only option, which the Algerians took in 1954.

Writing in 1986, Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’O, a Kenyan, asserts that imperialism was still a problem in Africa.¹⁶⁴ Imperialism is in the control of an international bourgeoisie. The

¹⁵⁷ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 120.

¹⁵⁸ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 121.

¹⁵⁹ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 121.

¹⁶⁰ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 123.

¹⁶¹ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 123.

¹⁶² Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 124.

¹⁶³ Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 127.

¹⁶⁴ Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong’O, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Rochester, NY: James Curry, 1986), 4.

resistance tradition that counters it is driven by peasants. “Imperialism is total,” Wa Thiong’O says.¹⁶⁵ It strangles Third World countries, robbing them of their resources. Imperialism’s jingoistic power is incarnated in nuclear weapons. Yet, according to Wa Thiong’O, the biggest bomb is the cultural one. The cultural bomb has the effect of vitiating African people’s belief in the power of their names and their languages.¹⁶⁶ Language is central to a people’s definition of themselves. Language codifies what is of value to them. In the case of the peasant in East Africa, what is of value is their tradition of resistance. Through the use of western languages, however, peasants lose their tradition of resistance. Language is culture. It is the bearer of a people’s values. Imperial language relative to the subaltern is inherently racist. Wa Thiong’O delineates what the greatest progenitors of the Enlightenment thought and said about people of the African race, proving that racism in the West is foundational to its understanding of itself as the incarnation and actualization of Hegel’s Absolute Spirit. The denigrating utterances of Hume, Jefferson and Hegel are present in the literature that a colonized child would confront about himself/herself.¹⁶⁷

Language, according to Wa Thiong’O, has three important aspects in the molding of culture: 1) culture is produced by the history of a people and it reflects that history; 2) culture is the “image forming agent” in the minds of children; and 3) culture transmits those images through the spoken and written languages. The *locus* for the fight against imperialism, then, must occur at the level of language. Language is the frontline of the mental fight against colonization. Whoever owns the language owns the reality. Language is where the colonized

¹⁶⁵ Wa Thiong’O, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 2.

¹⁶⁶ Wa Thiong’O, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 3.

¹⁶⁷ Wa Thiong’O, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 18.

decolonize themselves. Accordingly, Wa Thiong’O gave up writing in a western imperial language. He writes solely in Gĩkũyũ, a native Kenyan language.

Wa Thiong’O, moreover, recounts the history of the Berlin Conference in 1884, when the capitalist powers came together to carve up Africa. They were indifferent to the African peoples’ varying native languages, traditions and cultures. As a telling metaphor of the imperial designs of that conference, there emerged the English-speaking region of Africa, the Portuguese-speaking region, the French-speaking region, and the German-speaking region. Language is a powerful, hegemonic reality, as Africans came to pride themselves in the imperial language they had adopted and differentiate among themselves based on the imperial language that had been foisted upon them, thereby vitiating political unity, losing in the process their history, tradition and culture.

For Amílcar Cabral, the resistance fighter in Portuguese Guinea who was assassinated in 1973, resistance is natural.¹⁶⁸ Resistance yields “equal and concrete possibilities for the child of our land to advance as a human being.”¹⁶⁹ Colonialization, according to Cabral, is complete economic domination. To take away another’s economic opportunity is to take away their possibilities to actualize their humanity. Like Memmi, Cabral believes that colonialization creates an ambivalence in the souls of the colonized. It is the responsibility of the colonized to clear their souls of the things inserted into them by the colonizers. Yet, there are some things of value that the colonizers give to the colonized by way of information, science and knowledge. The negative work of clearing their souls should be accompanied by the quest for knowledge.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Amílcar Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization*, trans. Dan Wood (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 76.

¹⁶⁹ Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization*, 76.

¹⁷⁰ Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization*, 161.

This acquiring of knowledge is the power to define the culture of colonized and to preserve it.

The culture reclaimed is the source of unity.¹⁷¹ Cabral notes that only societies that stand on a strong culture can resist the onslaught of imperial forces.

In 1957, Kwame Nkrumah became the first prime minister of decolonized Ghana. He was on the forefront of the fight for liberation from Britain. He was also the consummate intellectual to which his work *Consciencism* attests. In the work, he produces a philosophy and ideology for decolonization. The development of such an ideology is necessary to counter the racist ideology of the colonizers, the mythology of the colonizers. Nkrumah notes that the history of Africa in the hands of the European scholars is layered with “malicious myths.”¹⁷² They have given the sense that Africa has no history aside from European involvement and contact with Africa. Hegel was enlisted to give philosophical support of the idea that the Europeans possess the actualized spirit to lead, that the ancient African civilizations inevitably collapsed before the presence of the greater actualized spirit.¹⁷³ At the root of such an historical account is an ideology to justify slavery and the subjugation of the whole continent of Africa. After the collapse of slavery, Nkrumah notes that intellectuals began to speak of the primitive backwardness of Africa, that Africa was in need of Christianity as a catalyst for civilization defined by European terms. Colonization was seen as a necessary medium to enlighten Africa. Musa Dube calls this the ideology of “God, gold and guns.”¹⁷⁴ The colonizers foist their God onto the natives; they take away the natives’ gold; and all this is done at the barrel of a gun.

¹⁷¹ Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization*, 173.

¹⁷² Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization and Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964), 62.

¹⁷³ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 62.

¹⁷⁴ Musa Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*, 47.

For Nkrumah, moreover, the new African renaissance entails Africans presenting their own history. Africans writing their history must utilize every critical tool to weigh every encounter with Europeans.¹⁷⁵ It is necessary to have a history to guide action.¹⁷⁶ There can be no reasoned, appropriate action without reflection, reflection informed by a truthful history. Nkrumah concedes that every society has an ideology.¹⁷⁷ Every society has a foundational story to relate to its denizens. The African nations are no different in this regard. What is at stake for Nkrumah is the role philosophy plays in constructing an appropriate ideology for Africa.¹⁷⁸ “Practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty.”¹⁷⁹ For Nkrumah, “philosophical consciencism” is the theoretical tool in the construction of an ideology that would give an African take on the Islamic and European presence in Africa. It will do so in the context of respecting African traditions. Consciencism will take useful knowledge brought to Africa by the colonizers and construct from it a worldview that fits what Nkrumah calls “the African personality.”¹⁸⁰ Like Memmi and Cabral, Nkrumah sees the benefits of empire. The issue is whether those benefits can accrue to the human actualization of the colonized. Nkrumah notes that the African personality is informed by a fundamental humanism in traditional African society. Philosophical consciencism insists that the communitarian, humanitarian values play a prominent role in the articulation of an ideology that is commensurate with the personality of the African.

Some in the academy might call this essentialism. Any one of the thinkers that I survey might be tagged with such nomenclature. Essentialism, however, is how change begins. The

¹⁷⁵ Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 63

¹⁷⁶ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 63.

¹⁷⁷ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 64.

¹⁷⁸ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 66.

¹⁷⁹ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 78.

¹⁸⁰ Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, 79.

unity necessary for a colonized population to resist must be grounded in something essential, something more essential than their colonized status. A colonized people must embrace their true transcendent humanity if they are to be inspired to change. Having come into their transcendent humanity, they are able to better judge the cultural particularities of others who might make a contribution to them. As Wa Thiong’O might phrase it: having learned their own language they can learn the languages of others. It is on this basis that the ethnic thinkers from the Third World can take a more nuanced view toward empire. Revolutions do not happen in a vacuum. Revolutions repurpose the wisdom, knowledge and science of empire. In a related way, Marx could not appreciate national movements and the psychological purpose they served to heal and empower the national proletariat. He awaited the rise international proletariat to bring to fruition the overthrow of the capitalist system and initiate a new system of production owned by the workers, which putatively would create a more fair and equitable economic arrangement. The thinkers I am surveying are too quickly dismissed based on the charge of essentialism.

If anyone was especially charged with essentialism, it was Aimé Césaire, who together with other French students of African descent in the 1930’s was the progenitor of the Negritude Movement. It was a literary movement that gave voice to the other, the other of African descent whose images of themselves were vitiated by the necessary racism of empire. Césaire posits that it is good for various civilizations to come into contact with each other.¹⁸¹ Civilizations that withdraw themselves are never enriched; they atrophy. Civilizational exchange has produced genius that has ameliorated the world. The issue for Césaire is whether all civilizations have been allowed to come into contract with others in a way that mutually enriches them. The

¹⁸¹ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), 33.

answer is no, because some have been excluded from meaningful dialogue with others. The African civilizations were not allowed to be in a dialogic relationship with European civilization. They were not allowed to speak, for they had to be silenced in order to exploit their resources. Though many African civilizations have been lost to history, the way forward for Césaire is not an attempt to recover a mythical past. Having come into contact with history, with empire, the only way forward is to evolve beyond it. Césaire says, “So the real problem, you say, is to return to old civilizations. No, I repeat. We are not men for whom it is a question of either-or. For us, the problem is not to make a utopian and sterile attempt to repeat the past, but to go beyond.”¹⁸² One cannot discount the experience of history, even colonial history. At issue is whether the colonized can hear other voices in the molding of their identity that empowers them to “go beyond.” All these Third World thinkers appreciate the complexity of humans in a complex situation that entails nuanced approaches in the process of decolonization. Even the most radical of the thinkers, Amíl Cabral, does not think in absolute terms relative to how the newly decolonized should relate to the vestiges of their colonization. The Third World thinkers see both the vice and the virtue of empire. They do not think in black and white. That is what the imperial script did.

W.E.B. Du Bois was the first African-American to earn a Ph.D. at Harvard University. He did so in 1895, just a generation after the end of slavery in America. Like all the previous thinkers, he values education and using knowledge to overcome the imperial script of racism. Knowledge is especially needed in overcoming what he calls a “double consciousness.” Du Bois defines double consciousness as viewing oneself from the perspective of others.¹⁸³ This is the

¹⁸² Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, 51.

¹⁸³ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Tampa, FL: Millennium Publications, 2014), 5.

inner ambivalence that Memmi spoke about. It is borne out of a deep self-hatred and both an admiration and a hatred of the oppressor. Training and education will produce the pure heart that would overcome this double consciousness.¹⁸⁴

Ashis Nandy is an Indian thinker whose postcolonial work is a manifesto of psychological resistance. Given the inner ambivalence in the subaltern, Nandy seeks ways to address it. The main work of postcolonial resistance and decolonization is in the heart and mind of the subaltern. Nandy says, “Perhaps that which begins in the minds of men must end in their minds.”¹⁸⁵ Not only must the colonized peer into their hearts, so must the colonizers, for they produced a pathological state in their own hearts through their magical feelings of omnipotence and permanence.¹⁸⁶ These feelings led to the creation of a 19th century *Weltanschauung* that was hyper-masculinized at its core.¹⁸⁷ The West was perceived as masculine, all-powerful over against the effeminate East. It is this myth and its pathological epiphenomena in culture of which both the colonizer and the colonized must cleanse themselves. “Colonialism is a master consciousness that must be defeated in the minds of man.”¹⁸⁸

Through his mode of dress and mannerisms, Mahatma Gandhi faced the master consciousness by calling forth other voices in the West to counteract the hypermasculine voices in the imperial script. Gandhi called forth the weaker voices in the West. “Gandhi tried to be a living symbol of the other West.”¹⁸⁹ According to Nandy, his nonviolent method was directed at the liberation of the British from the master psychology of colonialism. Gandhi used nonviolent

¹⁸⁴ Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, 8.

¹⁸⁵ Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: The Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 2.

¹⁸⁶ Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 35.

¹⁸⁷ Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 37.

¹⁸⁸ Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 63.

¹⁸⁹ Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, 48.

elements from the West's own Bible to overturn the hyper-masculine, imperial script. These nonviolent elements were in line with Buddhist and Hindu practice. It is in this sense that Gandhi was a culturally transcendent figure, transcending the imperial script of hypermasculinity that led to the repressive use of power. Martin Luther King followed Gandhi in this overturning of the hyper-masculinized script by teaching his followers in the Civil Rights Movement to turn the other cheek, the nonviolent resistance of Jesus and Daniel. In both historical cases, the subalterns empowered themselves and weakened the colonial script informed by hypermasculinity. This was to change the mind of both the colonizers and the colonized.

In the vein of psychology and inner healing, Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* proffers how to achieve black liberation. Colonialization has had a pernicious effect on the black race. Wherever it has ventured, colonization has exploited blacks as economic pawns. Such economic exploitation has not been done in a psychological and sociological vacuum. Colonization's ideology has rationalized the wholesale subjugation of black people's humanity and the decimation of their culture. It has created within the black psyche a deep self-hatred that Fanon characterizes as neurosis. This neurosis plays out in the subjugated black mind's futile attempt to prove to its white overlords that blacks are competent, intelligent, nonprimitive.¹⁹⁰ This neurosis has created what Fanon calls a passive "psychoexistential complex." In *The Location of Culture*¹⁹¹ Bhabha notes that Fanon attempts to place this complex in broad relief with the intent of destroying it.

¹⁹⁰ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, incorporated), 10.

¹⁹¹ Homi Bhabha counts Fanon an influence on his thinking. Cf. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 92.

For Fanon, language is a phenomenon that exists for the other.¹⁹² Language is also the medium through which one receives a culture and promulgates it to subsequent generations. Blacks' use of the language of the colonizers reveals the reality of a dual consciousness as work. There is a language that has currency with whites and another with blacks. Through the competent use of language, subjugated peoples can heighten their standing among the dominant group. Life in the Caribbean Antilles, from whence Fanon hailed before becoming a psychiatrist in pre-independent Algeria, was the backdrop of Fanon's research in the French colony of St. Martinique. There the black person becomes white in proportion to his/her mastery of the French language. Losing pidgin French, a Creole dialect loaded with Africanisms, was part and parcel of being perceived as white, as having social competence. To speak well is to be perceived as having appropriated the dominant culture and to be thereby respected. By mastering the colonizers' language, one accrues power and standing.¹⁹³ Such a person is perceived as being a real human.

The colonizers, moreover, engender in the colonized a complex that their language and culture are inferior. One of the ways to transcend this inferior status is through the mastery of the colonizers' language and culture. This, however, can create a painful split in the consciousness of some subjugated peoples who still have attachments to the language and culture of their birth and community. Every dialect is a way of living and thinking.¹⁹⁴ Language is a major component of the black neurosis of trying to fit in, trying to transcend, the neurosis of the endless need to compare themselves to whites in order to get validation from them.

¹⁹² Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 17.

¹⁹³ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 18.

¹⁹⁴ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 25.

Inasmuch as blacks feel inferior, they also aspire to win acceptance in the white world through romance with whites. For Fanon, this is a sign of the obsessive neurotic quality of black behavior relative to whites.¹⁹⁵ It is a behavior characterized by running away from one's individuality. Fanon calls it an "annihilation of one's presence." At the core of the annihilation of the self is the replaying of the history of abandonment. A devaluation of the self is the consequence of the annihilation of the self. Given this dynamic, one is psychically too crippled to love the white other that the black person has attracted from the sickness of an obsessive neurosis. Fanon says, "The abandoned neurotic doubts whether he can be loved as he is."¹⁹⁶ Fanon understands his role as a psychiatrist to help blacks become conscious of the unconscious movements of their hearts, thereby jettisoning their attempts at an illusionary whitening.¹⁹⁷ It is not enough to address individual blacks in their neuroses. The structures of colonialization must be addressed, for it is the overarching reality that created the sense of inferiority in blacks.

Fanon's solution to the inferiority is to make oneself known to oneself. Though blacks are emotional, according to Fanon, reason must be the viable tool leading to their liberation. Emulating the Jewish people and their experience of subjugation throughout history, blacks must be committed to an unswerving use of reason to demythologize the world of racial mythology. Also, a knowledge of the true history of African peoples would go a long way in liberating the consciousness of the victims of colonialism. Coming to his own history, Fanon was able to face the racial ideology of the colonizers that was used to subjugate black people, exploit their labor and steal their resources.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 60.

¹⁹⁶ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 76

¹⁹⁷ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 130.

¹⁹⁸ Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 130.

A survey of the Third World thinkers who were not members of academia yielded some common themes and critical tools with which a subjugated people can decolonize their minds from a colonial experience. First, they must take control of the language. Language is the key to culture and history, as language codifies those realities. They must use language to counter the mythology foisted on them by the colonizers to justify the expropriation of their resources. They must use language to create their own liberating ideology, as people do not live on bread alone. They must have transcendent reasons to live. An ideology provides those transcendent reasons. An ideology also directs praxis. They must commit themselves to knowledge. Knowledge will yield a better history which they can use to counter the false histories of the colonizers. All the thinkers surveyed agreed about the importance of knowledge. Language and knowledge are key tools to the creation of culture and history.

All the thinkers, moreover, were nuanced in their thinking. They were not absolutist. The avatars of colonial civilization were not to be smashed out of the existence. Though painful, nevertheless empire does come bearing gifts that better the world. The knowledge and technology of empire are to be embraced and repurposed so that a greater number of people can actualize their humanity. All the thinkers surveyed appreciate that life is complex. Humans are complex beings, especially in their various modes of interdependency. In those modes of interdependency, the Third World thinkers recognize that humans live complex, hybrid lives that resist the hegemonic script of empire.

Homi Bhabha, influenced by the work of Frantz Fanon, articulates what this complexity may look like, what hybridity looks like. What makes human beings complex and dynamic is the possibility of creating a new identity in what Bhabha calls the “inbetween spaces,” the

interstices of life.¹⁹⁹ Every human negotiates an identity in these interstices, which proffer possibilities for expanding on selfhood, making it layered and complex. Instead of hard and fast identities that never change, Bhabha would imbue such identities with the plasticity of life. Bhabha says, “Identity is never apriori, nor a finished product.”²⁰⁰ The plasticity of identity is a hybrid, complex, nuanced reality. This is true for the subaltern and the non-subaltern as well. When Bhabha speaks of going beyond boundaries, it is the personal boundaries of identity. When Musa Dube says, “hybridity is resistance,”²⁰¹ she is referring Bhabha’s complex of ideas that promote fluidity in the constant formation of identity with each encounter with one’s other. She says, “Hybridity becomes a form of resistance, for it dispenses with dualistic, hierarchical constructions of cultures and shows that cultures grow and are dependent on borrowing from each other.”²⁰² The most pernicious aspect of racism is to isolate a people and keep them from confronting others; in isolation they atrophy and die. Their spirits get crushed. As Césaire averred, if there are true exchanges between cultures and people, then those are occasions for enrichment. Even in the most repressive forms of racism, moreover, people still find a way to come into contact with each other and influence each other, for it is endemic in humans to do so. From the interracial couple to the jazz clubs on the other side of the train tracks, people come together to negotiate their identities and transcend the dualisms of the original cultures from which they hail. This is Bhabha’s third space existence. Third space negotiation occasions hybridity and renders the oppressive universal script powerless and eventually overturns it. As long as the imperial racist could keep the dark race and the white race separate, they can exert exploitative power. The repressive universal script is attenuated in the interstices of life.

¹⁹⁹ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 2.

²⁰⁰ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 73.

²⁰¹ Musa Dube, *The Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*, 51.

²⁰² Dube, *Postcolonial Feminist Interpretation of the Bible*, 51.

Bhabha's notion of the third space encapsulates all the above. "The third space of enunciation" challenges the sense of culture as a fixed unifying force.²⁰³ The third space ensures no enunciation of culture is a permanent reality. Like Bakhtin's dialogic engagement, the dialogue opened up in the spaces of hybridity never experiences closure.²⁰⁴

Based on the above conversation, the following are the postcolonial strategies for the interpretation of the biblical texts. The first is getting to different voices in the text other than the voice that may have imperial, hegemonic designs. Jon Berquist posits that the canon is the production of power.²⁰⁵ Berquist locates the imperial motives for canonization in the reign of Darius the Great. Known by the sobriquet "the Great Lawgiver," Darius was also the great administrator who reorganized the Persian political and economic system for greater efficiency. It was he who demanded that subjugated peoples produce codes of their laws, histories and an accounting of their traditions. The production of codes was for optimum control; it was not the result of a good-natured ruler with multi-cultural motives. Canon for Berquist, then, is "contemporaneous with political force and violence."²⁰⁶ The exertion of unilateral power is the function of any empire, despite its irenic reputation. The Persian reputation for peace and understanding relative to the subaltern is the result of Persian ideology. Postcolonial interpretation must be critical of the voice in Second Isaiah that calls Cyrus "the anointed one." That is not an authentic voice of a Jewish subaltern in exile. The Hebrew Bible proffers a polyphony of voices that are in constant conversation. The critic must distinguish between the voices to get at the authentic subaltern voice. The search for the authentic subaltern voice,

²⁰³ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 54.

²⁰⁴ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 44.

²⁰⁵ Jon Berquist, "Postcolonialism and Imperial Motives for Canonization," in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah, 78 – 95 (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 84.

²⁰⁶ Berquist, "Postcolonialism and Imperial Motives for Colonization," 83.

however, should not lead to what Berquist calls a “new objectivity.”²⁰⁷ The interpreter ought to seek other canonical texts to be used as a foil to imperializing texts. The critic should produce contrapuntal readings, Edward Said’s term for confronting the mythology of imperialism, to pose against a hegemonic script.²⁰⁸ The imperializing ideology must be exposed and countered by another text. The canon of the Hebrew Bible offers an array of possibilities to accomplish that. The interpreter, moreover, “must allow the text to deconstruct.”²⁰⁹ Deconstruction in this vein is not negative critique. It is returning to a tradition with new perspectives and approaches to waken latent aspects of the tradition that may have been ignored. For Berquist, the canon is a place of dueling perspectives and takes on life.²¹⁰ The canon does not speak univocally, though orthodoxy tries to make it speak such.

R.S. Sugirtharajah identifies the following ways to get at the subaltern voice and in the Bible and problematize ideology. There are four types of voices are: 1) hegemonic; 2) professional; 3) negotiated; and 4) oppositional.²¹¹ Each voice has a patterned way of communication; each voice emerges from an ideology, a mythological structure about itself and the world and its relation to the world. Casting in stark relief the hegemonic voice will lead the critic to focus on issues of expansion, domination and imperialism.²¹² The hegemonic voice’s mythological world is built on expansion, domination and imperialism.

²⁰⁷ Berquist, “Postcolonialism and Imperial Motives for Colonization,” 88.

²⁰⁸ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 66.

²⁰⁹ Berquist, “Postcolonialism and Imperial Motives for Canonization,” 90.

²¹⁰ Berquist, “Postcolonialism and Motives for Canonization, 92.

²¹¹ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2009), 79. Sugirtharajah bases his critical approach to distinguishing the various voices in a text on Stuart Hall, a British cultural critic who identified the four codes in television discourse.

²¹² Sugirtharajah, *Postcolonial Criticism and Biblical Interpretation*, 25.

2.3 Space Criticism

This section is not so much a thoroughgoing description of a methodology used in this dissertation as a description of the notion of third space, which is in the title. For Henri Lefebvre, the guru of philosophical and sociological reflection of space, life as it is lived by humans is his focus. By placing life as it is really lived under a microscope, one is able to extrapolate to the whole human universe.²¹³ The everyday concerns of humans are the preoccupation of Lefebvre. The problem with many intellectual traditions is that they are abstract. Intellectual traditions mired in abstraction cannot address people in their quotidian concerns. Andy Merrifield, an interpreter of Henri Lefebvre, noted that art has been better than philosophy or theology at speaking to everyday people in their everyday concerns.²¹⁴ What troubles Lefebvre most about everyday life is that it is being colonized by commodity.²¹⁵ The suburb is the epitome of colonization. The outgrowth of the colonization of life by commodity is that it produces “alienation, mystification and fetishism.”²¹⁶ Alienation is understood in the classic Marxist sense: the capitalist means of production place a wedge between the owners of production and the worker. The worker is alienated from real power. Mystification is any economic, philosophical, political, or theological doctrine that is an abstraction. Abstraction occurs when reflection on humanity is not grounded in people’s everyday life. Fetishism is to give power to something else other than one’s self. The political party can be fetishized. Humans, according to Lefebvre, yearn to be free. The everyday life is the *locus* for meaningful

²¹³ Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 5.

²¹⁴ Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, 6.

²¹⁵ Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, 9.

²¹⁶ Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, 10.

social change.²¹⁷ Instead of the Marxist universal script that abstracts, Lefebvre wants to focus on what some call “retail politics.” The solutions for everyday life are found in everyday life.²¹⁸

In his work *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre proffers what he calls a science of space.²¹⁹ It is an important science to develop, inasmuch as humans are confronted by a multitudinous amount of space, from geographical space to space as a construct of the mind.²²⁰ The objective of a science of space is to construct what Lefebvre calls a theoretical unity among the many dimensions of everyday life in the context of space.²²¹ It is concerned with the development of social space. Social space is neither an object nor a subject; it is an organic reality that creates moments that never die out. A history of space yields the various sets of relations in space.²²²

In their book *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces*, Claudia Camp and Jon Berquist use Lefebvre to open a greater understanding of space in the Hebrew Bible. In the introduction, Camp delineates the three aspects of space.²²³ The first space is the “material spatiality” that people perceive with their senses. The second space is the world of conceived space. This is the space created by the mind and imagination. Camp calls the third space the space of “radical openness.” The third space as lived space may resist the enunciations of the second space that are communicated in an absolutist way.²²⁴

²¹⁷ Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, 10.

²¹⁸ Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*, 13.

²¹⁹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 7.

²²⁰ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 8.

²²¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 11.

²²² Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 116.

²²³ Claudia V. Camp and Jon L. Berquist, eds. *Constructions of Space II: The Biblical City and Other Imagined Spaces* (New York: T and T Clark, 2008), 3.

²²⁴ Camp and Berquist, eds., *Constructions of Space II*, 140. This idea is taken from Kathryn M. Lopez’s article “Standing before the Throne of God: Critical Spatiality in Apocalyptic Scenes of Judgment.” She calls apocalyptic writings third space strategies. She also names allegory such.

Coupled with Homi Bhabha's understanding of third space as enunciation against the culture that has become a fixed unifying force, Camp's understanding of third space as lived space that offers possibilities of radical openness is the understanding of third space in this dissertation. I posit that the most radical experience one can have is a mystical experience in one's lived space that is open to other ideas than those proffered in the second space of cultural conception that are oppressive and hegemonic. Daniel's mystic third space is a radical openness to God in his lived experience. Daniel impels the reader to pay attention to his everyday life, his lived experience. In his lived experience he organizes himself to hear and see another script other than the universalizing one of Antiochus IV. By looking at Daniel in his social space, ones does not merely focus on his words. Henri Lefebvre says, "Man does not live by word alone."²²⁵ Daniel is to be appreciated in all his multi-multidimensional complexity in the spaces that he occupies as well as the spaces that occupy him. Daniel 's mystic third space attempts to articulate that complexity.

2.4 Phenomenology

The phenomenological study of religion traces its ascendency to the Enlightenment when empirical and rational tools were applied to all aspects of society. The purveyors of the Enlightenment sought clarity and lucidity after the violence of the Confessional Age of the 16th century, when half the population of continental Europe lost their lives over their confessional adherence to either Catholicism or Protestantism. The early attempts at a phenomenological approach to religion were aimed at constructing a coherent methodology for the study of religion.²²⁶ Georg Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* established the basis for the

²²⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 103.

²²⁶ Peter Connolly, ed., *Approaches to the Study of Religion* (New York: Cassell, 1999), 76.

phenomenological study of religion. Hegel posits that *Wesen* (“essence”) is articulated through its *Erscheinungen* (“manifestations,” “phenomena”).²²⁷ The *denouement* of Hegel’s thought was to demonstrate that all phenomena are unified by *Geist* (“Spirit”). All phenomena in their splendiferous diversity are grounded in Spirit. By studying the positive expressions of a given religion, one comes into contact with a transcendent reality.

Relative to the study of religion, Edmund Husserl distinguished between epoché and eidetic vision. Husserl derives these words from the Greeks.²²⁸ An epoché vision involves restraint and suspension of judgment relative to the study of a religion. It is an attempt on the part of the scholar to forgo his/her worldview as the scholar studies a religion. An eidetic vision is an attempt to see what one studies: to see what is actually there. It is an attempt to be objective, to garner an intuitive understanding of the religion to produce objective knowledge. Present-day scholars problematize this aspect of Husserl’s approach to the study of religion, as objectivity is not a possibility. Instead of feigning objectivity, the scholar should be honest about his/her biases up front.

Pierre Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye was the first to champion the study of religion as a scientific discipline.²²⁹ His scientific approach was mere classification of religions, however. Following in the vein of de la Saussaye, Nathan Soderblod and William Brede Kristensen established the study of comparative religion in Sweden, though they would view religion as a *sui generis*, not reducible to some other aspect of society.²³⁰ The uniqueness of religion is demonstrated by the concept of holiness. Holiness is a motif found in all religions, even the non-

²²⁷ Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 76.

²²⁸ Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 77.

²²⁹ Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 78.

²³⁰ Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 79.

theistic ones. Holiness, accordingly, is the proper place to begin a study of religion, as it is unifying factor of all religions. The phenomenological study of religion is descriptive, not interpretative. The interpretation of religion belongs to philosophy and theology. For Soderblod and Kristensen, the phenomenological study of religion is prolegomena.

Rudolf Otto, moreover, seized upon the idea of holiness. He insisted that it was an autonomous, *a priori* category.²³¹ Otto posited the autonomy of religion, its independence of the other spheres of life. As such, what may be an appropriate methodological approach to the study of other aspects of life may be inappropriate to the study religion given its *sui generis* nature. For Otto, religion can only be known and appreciated in an experience of the *magnum mysterium*. All intellectual approaches to the study of religion derive from this experience. Otto, then, distinguished a phenomenological approach to religion from that of anthropology, philosophy or sociology.²³² The experience of the holy is unique; as such, for its study it demands unique tools peculiar to it. Otto's influence was substantial on the study of religion. The weakness of his theory is that it is based on his confession, Christianity.

Based on the foregoing short survey of the major progenitors of the phenomenological study of religion, there are two types of phenomenology: a descriptive, quasi-scientific taxonomy that proffers itself as the objective study of religion. And, the hermeneutical approach, an interpretation of religion. Objectivity is a dead end. Any approach to phenomenology that boasts of its objectivity is a myth from a bygone era. Yet, religion should be taken seriously as an object of study; it should be interpreted. The proper object of the study of religion is the people behind the religion. What does the religion mean to them? Allowing them to speak is the

²³¹ Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 80.

²³² Connolly, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*, 80.

key to phenomenology. Phenomenology must be dialogic. Any approach to the study of religion that divorces religious beliefs from the humans behind them is a nonstarter.²³³ Jacques Waardenburg says, “We should try to open up the implicit human dimension of religious data by considering them as expressions which allow us to learn about those who have expressed themselves religiously.”²³⁴ A satisfying phenomenology in these postmodern times would be one that jettisons the pretensions and hubris of objectivity and instead fosters dialogue. A satisfying phenomenology will not allow the real humans behind the expressions of religion get lost. To express it in the spirit of Rolf Knierim, the anthropological factor should not get lost. One can garner from everyday people how they used religion to transcend their quotidian lives that became monotonous or repressive. It is this approach to phenomenology that I shall take in the final chapter of the dissertation. I shall look at historical examples of people who used mysticism to resist and decolonize themselves in the way Daniel did. It is not enough to look at their words. To fixate on their words is to miss the real people behind those words and whatever religious concepts that may have been formed from those words. I want to see what they did with their bodies in their spatial existence. I want to see how they negotiated life in their third space of engagement, how they responded to the possibilities offered them in the lived experiences of their third space engagement.

²³³ D.Z. Phillips, *Religion and the Hermeneutics of Contemplation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 26.

²³⁴ Jacques Waardenburg, *Reflections on the Study of Religion* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 5.

Chapter 3

DANIEL PROLEGOMENA

Before doing exegesis on the texts in the following chapters that demonstrate Daniel's *via mystica*, in this chapter I shall denote some of the various contextual issues that have a bearing on the interpretation of Daniel.

3.1 דניאל

Daniel's Hebrew name means, "God is my judge." Daniel is mentioned together with Noah and Job in Ezekiel 14:14. The Daniel Ezekiel has in mind harkens back to the *Dan El* of the distant Canaanite past, as both Noah and Job refer to non-Jewish heroes in the history of humanity. Because of their righteousness, they stand in stark relief against the rest of humanity. Ezekiel notes that these three heroes of the faith would have delivered themselves and others because of their righteous reputation. Each person, however, must take responsibility for his/her sin and seek reconciliation with God through repentance and follow the strictures of the *cultus*. One cannot presume to rely on the righteous merits of others. In Ezekiel 28:3 Daniel is mentioned in the context of God upbraiding the prince of Tyre for his pride, daring to make himself God because of his riches. The prophet counters his arrogance by reminding him that he is human, not God. Yet, in a sardonic way he is called wiser than Daniel. In Ezra 8:2 a Daniel is mentioned as one of the returnees from the exile. He is mentioned as one of the sons of Ithamar.

Renowned for his righteousness and wisdom, Daniel gets expanded to legendary proportions.²³⁵ According to John Collins, the Aqhat story in Ugaritic literature might have been

²³⁵ John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1993), 1; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday and

a tributary to the development of the legendary status of Daniel, as the story from the 14th century B.C.E. had broad exposure in the ancient Near East. For instance, fragments of the story of Aqhat were found among the Aramaic papyri from the Jewish community at Elephantine dating from the 5th century B.C.E. As the story goes, there is a king by the name *dn'il*. He is childless. He prays to the gods to give him a child. The gods answer his prayer and grant him Aqhat. Aqhat offends the goddess Anat and is killed. Daniel retrieves his son for burial. Pughat, Daniel's daughter, vows to avenge her brother. In the story of Aqhat, Daniel is renowned for his righteousness, as he judges widows and orphans.²³⁶ Having a special concern for widows and orphans is a key ethical motif in the Hebrew Bible.²³⁷ Deuteronomy 10:18 avers that God executes judgment for the fatherless and widows. Isaiah 1:17 demands that its hearers learn to do good, to seek justice, correct oppression and bring justice to widows and orphans. Jeremiah 22:3 teaches that his audience do no wrong, no violence to the alien, widow or orphan. According to Louis Hartman and Alexander Di Lella, all this adds up to the fact that the author of Daniel knew of an ancient hero of righteousness who was not as well-known as Job and Noah.²³⁸ Daniel's lack of a genealogy and a narrative occasion the author of Daniel to fill in the gaps, to pseudonymously craft a story of a hero lost to history, yet vestiges of whose renown and authority can serve as catalyst for being faithful in a trying situation.

3.2 Author

Whom one designates as the author of Daniel hinges on whether one thinks the book was a unified creation (the stories in chapters 1 - 6 and the visions in 7 - 12) of one or more authors

Company, 1978), 8; and Choo-Leong Seow, *Daniel*, Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 5.

²³⁶ John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1.

²³⁷ Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 8.

²³⁸ Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 8.

during the crisis of 167 B.C.E to 164 B.C.E. or whether the two halves of Daniel have different authors at various times in contexts other than the mid-second century B.C.E. Generally, the defenders of the unity of the Book of Daniel have been Harold Rowley, Klaus Koch, Norman Porteous and Marvin Sweeney. The defenders of the non-unity of Daniel have been Philip Davies, Louis Hartman, Alexander Di Lella, André Lacoque, John Collins and Carol Newsom.

Chapters 7-12 have a provenance in the Maccabean era. Chapters 1-6 remain in dispute, as, according to some scholars, they do not reflect a situation of persecution. They are putatively court tales from the eastern Diaspora,²³⁹ though a specific provenance cannot be established with certainty. They are not histories, but fictionalized accounts of a legendary figure in various trying situations wherein he proves his faithfulness to God. David Valeta has demonstrated the satirical side of the stories as enabling the subalterns to laugh at power.²⁴⁰ The historical references in the stories, moreover, are faulty. There was no Darius the Mede. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but Nabonidus. Nabonidus was not a descendant of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet, when the author speaks of the political machinations closer to the 2nd century in chapters 8-12, the author is clear and speaks with some specificity about those contemporary historical events.

For some, the Aramaic stories circulated separately, namely chapters 2-6. For these scholars the Aramaic stories were collected and the Hebrew first chapter was attached as an

²³⁹ Collins, *Daniel*, 27; Carol Newsom with Brennan W. Breed, *Daniel*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY:Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 7; Philip Davies, *Daniel*, Old Testament Guides (Sheffield, England: JOST Press, 1985), 26.

²⁴⁰ David Valeta, *Lions and Ovens and Visions: A Satirical Reading of Daniel 1 – 6* (Shefffiled, England: Shefffiled Phoenix, 2008), 26.

introduction.²⁴¹ Chapter 7 shares the same language as chapters 2-6; yet, its content and genre are apocalyptic visions in keeping with chapters 8-12, whose language is Hebrew.

Despite this quirky situation, the book has features that bespeak its having been produced by a single author.²⁴² There is a theological unity to the book that emphasizes the sovereignty of God who raises up potentates and also brings them down. The God who gave King Jehoiakim into the hands of the Babylonians is the same God who raises the empires from the chaotic sea and subsequently judges them. As a subjugated people needs humor and satire to empower them, so they need serious theological reflection on God's involvement in controlling all the possibilities of history and God's acting on behalf of the persecuted. Besides a theological concept unifying all the seemingly disparate twelve chapters of Daniel, there are clever literary devices that bespeak a single author, namely the chiasm of chapters 7 and 2, 6 and 3, and 5 and 4. Hartman and Di Lella concede, however, that the unifying theological motif and literary devices could have been produced by the final redactor of the book.²⁴³ The final redactor may have also translated the Aramaic work into Hebrew to lend it credibility in an increasingly nationalistic age according to Hartman and Di Lella. There is, however, no evidence of an Aramaic original text for those chapters.²⁴⁴

I side with the scholars who posit the unity of the book as the product of one and perhaps various collaborators producing Daniel in the mid second century work to address the crisis initiated by Antiochus Epiphanes IV. It is the work of a complex person who had to produce such a work to inspire and enlist faithfulness. Had the stories circulated independently in the

²⁴¹ Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 13; Philip Davies, *Daniel*, 43.

²⁴² Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 9.

²⁴³ Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 10

²⁴⁴ Collins, *Daniel*, 23.

priestly and scribal circle that putatively produced the work in an era before the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV, then Ben Sira should have known about the stories and heroism of Daniel who acted like Joseph. Ben Sira would have been a member of the circle of intellectuals who might have produced Daniel. He produced his work some years before Daniel. Yet, in his work he does not mention Daniel in his list of the people of great faith to emulate to garner wisdom.

The creative production of Daniel, moreover, does not discount the author using oral and written sources. The stories may have constituted some of those sources. Whatever the provenance of the sources used, the author placed them in his work to speak humorously and sardonically to a crisis. As Bakhtin noted, laughter makes the object of one's fear small. The stories were written to laugh at Antiochus, to belittle him, to reveal his repressive machinations. The stories are about him and the crisis he ignited with his precipitous behavior.²⁴⁵ For Marvin Sweeney, the Babylonian and Persian potentates mentioned in the stories serve as "literary foils" of Antiochus.²⁴⁶ Though Nebuchadnezzar was as fierce and unilateral as Antiochus IV in his unbridled use of power against a weaker people, Nebuchadnezzar nevertheless repented and acknowledged that God was sovereign, not him. Antiochus fails to do this. He shall be judged.

The stories and the visions are the product of the *maskilim*, the circle of teachers and wise people who use their skills to produce a complex work to speak to the complexity of the times. Though research into the diachronic features of Daniel contextualizes Daniel, it is the synchronic features of the book that yield the anthropological features that reveal the author behind the work

²⁴⁵ Marvin Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 254.

²⁴⁶ Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature*, 254.

and make the author of perennial relevance to people who find themselves in similar situations where their humanity is being suppressed and repressed.

3.3 The Author's Sources

The author had access to court legends and stories, not the least of which was the Joseph novella. Daniel is not a midrash on Joseph according to John Collins.²⁴⁷ They are alike, because they share the genre of court legends. The story of Aḥikar also shares the same genre and had wide circulation in the ancient Near East.²⁴⁸ According to the story, Aḥikar is a counselor to Assyrian kings. He is betrayed and plotted against by his nephew Nadin. Nadin delivers Aḥikar to court, where he is sentenced to death. He is spared by the executioner. Subsequently, Nadin is unable to solve the riddle that the king of Egypt posed to his Assyrian colleague. He proves to be an unworthy counselor to the king of Assyria. The king is desperate to solve the riddle. Aḥikar does so. He is reinstated. Nadin is punished. This popular story has many allusions to both Joseph and Daniel. Together with Joseph, it may have been one of the building blocks that the author used for the composition of Daniel.

According to Collins, five genres can be seen in the stories: Märchen, legend, court tales, romance and midrash.²⁴⁹ The court tale genre can be developed further to yield the following movements in the narrative: 1) the protagonist begins in a state of prosperity in the court; 2) the protagonist is threatened in some way; 3) a sentence of death is placed upon the protagonist; 4) the protagonist is released; and 5) the protagonist is restored to a position of prominence after having been proven useful to a potentate.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 39.

²⁴⁸ Collins, *Daniel*, 41.

²⁴⁹ Collins, *Daniel*, 42.

²⁵⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, 45.

Another source for the author of Daniel is wisdom, though not wisdom in the didactic sense of Proverbs or Ben Sira, but mantic wisdom.²⁵¹ Mantic is a derivative of the Greek word μαντεία, which means “prophesying,” “prophetic power,” or “mode of divination.” The mode of divination can unfold in something as innocuous as extispicy, the reading of animal entrails to read the future, or complex and esoteric as dream interpretation. Daniel’s use of mantic arts is a suggestion in the direction of the diverse religious experience of the Jewish people not fully captured by the Hebrew Bible. An established canon both affirms certain realities and denies others.

Historical apocalypses like Daniel, moreover, use *ex eventu* prophecy, i.e. prophecy after the fact. The use of *ex eventu* prophecy was common in the ancient Near East. The Persian *Bahram Yasht* purports to be a prophetical work in which the Persian God Ahura Mazda gives to Zoroaster a vision of a tree with four metal branches. The four metal branches represent the periods yet to occur and what is to happen to the Persian kingdom. Persia was a kingdom to follow the Assyrian, Median and Babylonian. *Bahram Yasht* is a piece of *ex eventu* writing long after the fact to bolster Persian ideology that its rule was determined by Ahura Mazda. The 70 weeks of years and the four kingdoms in Daniel convey this same sense of determinism.²⁵² Though things look chaotic, there is an intelligent principle leading and guiding history. From the perspective of this principle, nothing fortuitous happens. This thought is for the benefit of those undergoing chaos. Though chaos is an ever-present reality of life, as the best laid plans can be frustrated by the mere fact of having been made or ordered, chaos is not the ultimate determinative factor in the universe.

²⁵¹ Collins, *Daniel*, 49.

²⁵² Collins, *Daniel*, 55.

John Collins notes that Daniel's own experience was a source in the production of his book.²⁵³ Collins concedes that it is difficult to extrapolate from a literary text to an experience that might hover in the background of that production. Agreeing with Susan Niditch, Collins says that apocalyptic writers "know how genuine ecstasies feel."²⁵⁴ At the very least, Daniel follows the precedent of other holy people in preparing themselves to alter their consciousness by mourning, fasting, prayer and falling into a deep sleep, the deep sleep being a deepening of one's consciousness. Visionary experiences flourish in situations of persecution. It is not merely a way out for the subalterns; it is a way to transcend. It is a way to resist; it is a way to decolonize (transcend).

1 Enoch may be a source for Daniel. The Enoch corpus comprises 1 Enoch, which derives from the 4th to the 1st century B.C.E., as various traditions, stories and visions have a provenance in the 4th century and others in the 2nd or even the 1st century B.C.E. Parenthetically, 2 Enoch, a Jewish sectarian work, is preserved only in Slavonic; it derives from the first century C.E. Some scholars think that 2 Enoch is a Christian work, however. 3 Enoch is a product of Hekhalot mysticism from the 6th to the 8th century C.E. Only 1 Enoch has relevance in the Second Temple milieu. Enoch purports to be a series of revelations that the ancient figure received and passed onto his son Methuselah. They were meant to bolster the righteous who live in the end times. Enoch joins astronomical, cosmological, epistemological and traditional speculations to provide the *Hasidim* with a comprehensive vision of God's providential control over the universe for the benefit of the righteous.²⁵⁵ Daniel is like Enoch in this spirit: they both seek to assuage the insecurities of the religiously oppressed and suppressed. Enoch, moreover,

²⁵³ Collins, *Daniel*, 58.

²⁵⁴ Collins, *Daniel*.

²⁵⁵ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire* (Grand Rapids, MI: Williams Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 285.

does what no other book in the Hebrew Bible does in denoting the origin of sin and evil and its ineluctable defeat in the final judgment. According to Portier-Young, the writers of Enoch bring together Torah, prophecy, wisdom, Babylonian and Persian ideas and Greek science and wisdom to produce an intellectual *tour de force*.²⁵⁶ Daniel 7 has parallels with 1 Enoch 14. The judgment scene in Daniel 7 has some allusion to 1 Enoch 90. The astral reference in Daniel 12 of the righteous shining like the brightness above has parallels with 1 Enoch 104.

Daniel has the prophets as sources, especially Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel. Donald Gowan has delineated the intertextual allusions of Daniel to Isaiah generally and specifically to Second Isaiah's Servant Hymns²⁵⁷: Daniel 2:22, Isaiah 45:7; Daniel 4:35, Isaiah 40:17; Daniel 3:5, Isaiah 44:9 - 20, 46:1 - 7. Isaiah's Servant Hymns: Isaiah 42:1- 4; 49:1-6; 50:4-9; 52:13 - 53:12. Allusions to these hymns in Daniel: Daniel 3:26; Daniel 6:21; and Daniel 12:2 - 3.

3.4 Text

The BHS is based on Leningrad Codex B 19A from 1008 - 1009 C.E. With the discovery of part of the library of the sectarian community at Qumran in 1947, there are now manuscripts older than the Leningrad by over a thousand years. There are eight fragmented manuscripts of Daniel from Qumran. 4QDan^c from the late second century B.C.E. is the oldest, perhaps 50 years younger than the actual autograph of Daniel.²⁵⁸ The Qumran fragments support the antiquity of the consonantal Masoretic Text. The Greek version has inclusions: the prayer of Azariah; the Song of the Three Jews in chapter 3 after verse 23; the Story of Susanna before Daniel chapter 1 in the Theodotion text, but after Daniel 12 in the Old Greek text and the Vulgate; and Bel and the

²⁵⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 305.

²⁵⁷ Donald Gowan, *Daniel* (Nashville, TN: Abington, 2001), 33.

²⁵⁸ Collins, *Daniel*, 2.

Dragon, which concludes the Old Greek text. Jerome thought that the Old Greek text was different than the Hebrew and Aramaic text. He could not bear such differences, for they vitiated the truth.²⁵⁹ According to Collins, the antiquity of the Old Greek text relative to the Masoretic text or vice-versa cannot be established.²⁶⁰ The Septuagint might have originated as a translation in Alexandria around the same time that 1 Maccabees was translated into Greek, which might have been 110 B.C.E.²⁶¹ No Hebrew text of Maccabees is extant, however.

According to Carol Newsom, the reason for the paucity of Septuagint manuscripts of Daniel is because the early Christian Church jettisoned it for Theodotion Daniel.²⁶² Though the Christian Church by 180 C.E. had adopted Theodotion Daniel over the Septuagint, there is evidence that the Hebrew Bible was copied in other areas than Alexandria. There were sizable Greek-speaking Jewish communities in Asia Minor, where the library at Pergamum, for instance, had 200,000 volumes.²⁶³ A proto-Theodotion Daniel may have originated in this community. According to Hartman and Di Lella, Theodotion Daniel is not a recension, but a fresh translation already in the first century by Jews in Palestine or Asia Minor who were disturbed by the Old Greek's significant deviations from the Hebrew and Aramaic texts. The New Testament contains both Old Greek and Theodotion citations.

3.5 The Bilingual Nature of Daniel

The Elephantine Papyri, Ezra and Daniel use the standard Aramaic. Attempts to date them based on linguistic grounds are futile. According to Philip Davies, the Aramaic portions of

²⁵⁹ Collins, *Daniel*, 5.

²⁶⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, 8.

²⁶¹ Hartman and Di Lella, 78.

²⁶² Newsom, *Daniel*, 9.

²⁶³ Hartman and Dilella, 78.

Daniel are not the production of a Jew living in Babylonia.²⁶⁴ Jews exiled to Babylonia spoke Hebrew as their primary language. After the exile, Hebrew began to diminish. Nehemiah had to translate the Torah into Aramaic in Nehemiah 8:8. As Davies notes, the Hebrew of Daniel is not that of a late 6th century Jew living in Babylonia. Late Hebrew in the Second Temple period is inferior to the Hebrew just before the exile.²⁶⁵

According to John Collins, the two languages in Daniel cannot be solved on linguistic grounds, but on redactional critical grounds²⁶⁶ For him, the Aramaic chapters existed already as a collection before the Maccabean crisis. Chapter 1 was appended as an introduction. Chapter 7 was produced during the Maccabean turmoil and is dependent on chapter 2. Collins explains the use of Hebrew in the other chapters as the result of the nationalistic fervor of the Maccabean period.²⁶⁷ Newsom agrees with Collins, adding that Daniel's beginning and ending in Hebrew are the product of a redactor who unifies the book.²⁶⁸ The diachronic approach to solving the bilingualism in Daniel has led to a patchwork of compositional histories that cast the book into scholarly esoterism.

The bilingualism of Daniel might be addressed on synchronic grounds. From a postcolonial perspective, the bilingualism of Daniel is a good piece of mimicry. Mimicry is the “exaggerated imitation” of the oppressor’s language, manners and ideas.²⁶⁹ Daniel 2:4a - Daniel 7 form an *inclusio* of exaggerated mimicry of imperial ways and thinking. The section taunts empire and it does so in the language of empire, Aramaic. Such taunting is a subaltern form of

²⁶⁴ Davies, *Daniel*, 37.

²⁶⁵ Collins, *Daniel*, 22.

²⁶⁶ Collins, *Daniel*, 24.

²⁶⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 24.

²⁶⁸ Newsom, *Daniel*, 8.

²⁶⁹ Leo G. Purdue and Warren Carter, *Israel and Empire: A Postcolonial History of Israel and Early Judaism*, ed. Coleman C. Baker (London: Bloomsbury T and T Clark, 2015), 18.

resistance against the hubris of empire. God alone is sovereign, for, in the end, empires are judged. Mimicry is a menace to power.²⁷⁰ It reveals the ambivalence of imperial power to disrupt its authority.²⁷¹ Once it is demonstrated the emperor is wearing no clothing, the subalterns are catalyzed to resist, to think for themselves.

3.6 Apocalyptic

By way of introduction, apocalyptic represents a dissatisfaction with the way the world is constituted cosmically or socially. The purveyors of apocalyptic are the dissatisfied in the scribal and priestly classes, namely the priests in the lower echelon of power and responsibility. They are, nevertheless, experts in the knowledge and traditions of the people. They are highly skilled and gifted. They have the leisure to pursue such a creative and sophisticated expression as apocalyptic. Yet, in the division of labor their position is precarious. They worked at the behest of the powerful, who, at times, proved to be whimsical. The scribes in the middle of the 3rd century were privy to the machinations between the warring Ptolemies and Seleucids. They were victims in the Greeks' on-going battles that rendered them and others in the support class vulnerable. The development of apocalyptic ranges from the middle of the 3rd century B.C.E. to the middle of the 2nd century C.E.

Apocalypse is a narrative, a story in which the mediator of revelation takes a journey to the presence of God to receive a disclosure about the way of the world or an impending threat to people's existence as they know it. In this vein, an apocalypse can be a revelation about the future or an unfolding of the present reality, so that one gets a glimpse into its internal workings. Both aspects of an apocalypse are meant to give reassurance to the audience that God is in

²⁷⁰ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 126.

²⁷¹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 126.

control; chaos will not have the final word. This bespeaks a fundamental purpose of apocalyptic literature and the overall genre: it is theodicy. Apocalypticism is a justification of God in an evil world; it is squaring an all-powerful, loving God with the harsh reality of evil. Jewish apocalypticism develops primarily from the symbols and writings of the Hebrew Bible.

Apocalyptic is similar to wisdom in its desire to seek a ballast amid the exigencies of life. The practitioner of wisdom does this by facing the world as it is, investigating its inner workings through the use of reason and trying to live a life commensurate with the findings of reason. Scholars have noted that apocalyptic is not like the didactic wisdom found in the Book of Proverbs. The wisdom that informs apocalyptic is mantic wisdom, the use of various esoteric, religious and spiritual techniques to predict the future or gain greater enlightenment in the present. These esoterica take the form of dream interpretation to reading the random formation of clouds.

Apocalyptic is similar to prophecy in its dependence on revelation. In prophecy, however, there is no speculation about the end or a longing for the end. Revelation in prophecy comes as an ethical imperative to repent and change the unjust conditions of society. Repentance can open up possibilities of changing one's self and the macro world. There is no such plasticity in apocalypticism. Revelation in apocalypticism reveals that the universe is about to end. It is deterministic. Whether or not one prays or gives alms, the end will come at the behest of God. Jewish apocalypticism shares with other cultural productions of the genre in binaries of light and darkness, angels and demons, the sons of light and the sons of darkness, and protology and eschatology.

Jewish apocalyptic demonstrates a rich borrowing from its ancient Near East neighbors as well as its own biblical traditions.²⁷² Though the extent of Zoroastrian influence on the Jewish development of apocalyptic eschatology has long been debated by scholars, there are nevertheless fundamental ways that Zoroastrian ideas could have precipitated the development of apocalyptic eschatology in Judaism; namely, geographical proximity, significant cultural exchange, and the priority and longevity of Zoroastrian ideas in that cultural exchange in an imperial context. Zoroastrianism is essentially both a cosmology and an eschatology. Zoroastrian thinkers engaged the problem of evil and located its solution in an apocalyptic event wherein *Ahura Mazda* would defeat *Angra Mainyu*, the source of all evil and affliction in life during the age of limited time. As Jews reflected on the experience of losing their land, the prevailing orthodoxy (the theology of the Deuteronomist) could only go so far in ascribing blame for the Babylonian exile on people's infidelity to *Torah*. The *quid pro quo* arrangement of the Deuteronomist did not explain every experience of tragedy in life. It did not account for all the facts. Within the Hebrew Bible, there are alternative voices to the Deuteronomistic orthodoxy and its stilted, didactic genres. One such polemical voice, for instance, is the book of Job. Sometimes tragedies derive from a larger cosmic source beyond an individual's best efforts of keeping *Torah* or what one does in one's micro world. Some thinkers, then, were looking for new solutions to the problem of evil and tragedy. Zoroastrianism may have served as a catalyst to a new conceptual language, causing Jewish thinkers to exploit the apocalyptic possibilities in their own rich, prophetic tradition.

²⁷² Steven Cook, *Apocalyptic Literature* (Nashville, TN: Abington Press, 2000), 33.

Lester Grabbe posits six turning points in the Second Temple era that might have occasioned the writing of apocalypses.²⁷³ Hellenization challenged the ideas and cultures of the ancient Near East with an ideology of the superiority of the Greek way. As a conquering ideology, Hellenization disrupted life in the ancient Near East. Grabbe notes also the dispute over the office of high priest as another precipitating factor leading to the production of apocalyptic. The suppression of Judaism, a new phenomenon in Judea, was yet another factor, as was the Maccabean revolt as a response to that suppression. The Maccabean fight for an independent state played a role, the Hasmonean state and the coming of Rome.

What is important to the development of the thesis of this dissertation is the opening up of generic categories to expose their open, process orientation and mutuality. The intellectual worlds of Knierim and Bakhtin occasion the fundamental plasticity, flexibility and interdependence of genres. By extension, the categories of prophecy and apocalyptic are not hard and fast realities, vitiating any mutual communication and input. Scholars establish a literary taxonomy that putatively transcends the various phenomena and particularities. The various phenomena are foisted into the classifications of prophecy or apocalyptic. The various phenomena, however, have their own life in their own context and time. They have a dynamism that defy ready-made, objective categories. This line of thinking may be apparent in the postmodern, quantum world of the mutuality of time and space. Yet, historically, scholars drove a wedge between prophecy and apocalypticism and mysticism for that matter, separating them off into their own domains. Prophecy, then, was placed on a pedestal as a crowning achievement of Jewish religion. Apocalypticism and mysticism were judged to be deficient relative to

²⁷³ Lester L. Grabbe, “The Seleucid and Hasmonian Period,” in *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, eds. Lester L. Grabbe, Gabriele Boccaccini and Jason Zurawski (London: Bloomsbury T and T, 2016), 6.

prophecy's moral imperative directed to the here and now. Grabbe gives a warrant for the understanding of prophecy, apocalypticism and mysticism as being on a mutually informing continuum when he says, “Apocalyptic is a form of prophecy and prophecy is a form of divination.”²⁷⁴ Prophecy, apocalyptic and mantic wisdom, according to Grabbe, cannot be separated out into separate ghettos, where they have exclusive domains. They overlap.²⁷⁵ The modalities of the prophet, apocalypticist and mantic mystic are the same: they all received revelations from God through dreams, visions, and divination.²⁷⁶ The emphasis lies on experience and the degrees of the intensity of experience. The religious specialists of ancient Israel experienced what they spoke about. Together with this experience, moreover, Daniel demonstrates a profound knowledge of his own Jewish traditions as well as Hellenistic history.²⁷⁷ Experience and the culling of knowledge through the intellect are not mutually exclusive.

In an article titled “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses” in *Experiencia, Volume 1: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*,²⁷⁸ Crispin Fletcher-Louis avers that revelation is the product of experience. Fletcher-Louis insists that the apocalypses are best understood by appreciating their mystical character. They offer an experience that transcends the boundaries of ordinary time and space.²⁷⁹ The apocalypses, moreover, are part of a stream of mystical practice that goes from prophecy in Hebrew Bible to 1 Enoch to Merkavah mysticism. It is a stream of genuine religious experience. It is not just the

²⁷⁴ Grabbe, “The Seleucid and Hasmonean Period,” 14.

²⁷⁵ Grabbe, “The Seleucid and Hasmonean Period,” 15.

²⁷⁶ Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, International, 1995), 107.

²⁷⁷ Grabbe, “The Seleucid and Hasmonean Period,” 15.

²⁷⁸ Frances Flannery, Collen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, *Experiencia, Volume 1: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 40 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008). The text is a collection of scholars who focus on religious experience in texts. They take seriously the religious experience about which a text speaks.

²⁷⁹ Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience and the Apocalypses,” in *Experiencia, Volume 1*, 128.

ideas in a text that are at the core of text. There is also what Knierim called the anthropological concerns of the author.²⁸⁰ It is not enough to focus on the words of apocalypses; the person, the mystical person, in the negotiation of space is a major concern as well.²⁸¹

Given the mystical nature of apocalypses, they are less about eschatology and more about transformation, enlightenment.²⁸² They proffer personal transformation that catalyzes a person to transcend his/her immediate circumstances. April DeConnick posits that there is a tendency in scholarship to equate apocalypticism with eschatology.²⁸³ Eschatology is only part of apocalyptic. Deconick says the other part of apocalyptic is mystical: “The belief in the immediate and direct experience of God. This belief has to do with religious experience, the act of revelation itself, the encounter with God that results in the devotee’s immediate personal transformation.”²⁸⁴ This is the understanding of apocalyptic in this dissertation; it opens it up the apocalyptic to the mystical, to the experiential; apocalyptic is not merely a literary phenomenon. The transformation motif will come to full fruition in Daniel’s understanding of the Son of Adam in Daniel 7. The Son of Adam is a transformed figure, transformed by his presence in God’s presence. I shall argue that the transformed figure of the Son of Adam is the transformed high

²⁸⁰ In an article responding to Anathea Portier-Young’s “Apocalyptic Worldviews - What they are and How They Spread: Insights from the Social Sciences” in *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, Torleif Elgvin notes that Portia-Young failed to speak of the phenomenology of the apocalyptic mind. In keeping with scholarly practice, she refused to touch on mysticism, asking about the author’s mystical mind. This is in keeping with the precedent established by John Collins when he defined the genre of apocalypse at the Society of Biblical Literature meeting in 1979 as “a narrative framework in which revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation; spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world.” The definition never asks about the mind, the self, the anthropological factors of the author. The definition is separated from the dynamic world of experience where there is a mutuality and interdependency of not only of the apocalyptic genre but also prophecy. Apocalyptic and incipient mysticism in Merkavah are a part of this stream.

²⁸¹ Crispin Fletcher-Louis delineates the scholars who agree with the idea of a stream of mysticism flowing from prophecy to Merkavah: Ithamar Guenwald, Michael Stone, Norton Smith, Michael Mach, James Davila, Christopher Morray-Jones, Alan Segal, Moshe Idel, Rachel Elior, Dan Merkur, and Frances Flannery-Daily.

²⁸² Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience and the Apocalypse,” 133.

²⁸³ April D. DeConick, ed., *Paradise Now: Essays on Early and Christian Mysticism* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 18.

²⁸⁴ DeConick, ed., *Paradise Now*, 18.

priest. He is the decolonized high priest. If the Servant Songs of Second Isaiah represent the high priest in his humiliated state in the exile, in the nadir of his existence and office without a temple, the Son of Adam in the presence of the Ancient of Days is the transformed high priest, the decolonized high priest.

3.7 Divination (Mantic Wisdom)

A discussion of divination is necessitated by the fact that the wisdom Daniel displays is in the order of mantic wisdom. Divination, magic and manteia are related in an attempt to reach a higher level of spirituality²⁸⁵.

In 1 Samuel 28:6, King Saul finds himself in desperate straits. The anxiety in his heart is looming as he senses that he is losing his hold on power. He tried the usual ways to contact God to garner assurance. God, however, did not answer Saul. God did not answer either through dreams, the Urim or by the prophets. The text indicates God could be accessed in divers of ways. There was not an univocal approach to God based merely on moral, rational and verbal communication. Historically, Protestantism influencing scholarship, was obsessed with words; it neglected to consider other forms of experience available to humans in their bodied existence. Prophecy was considered a word phenomenon. How prophets got their words has been separated out from the prophets themselves in their complex anthropological features. The words were subsequently elevated to divine status as the exclusive domain of the divine. The human elements in the preparation for an experience of communication from God was diminished in the interest of a pure word event from God. Divination was seen as too much involvement on the part of humans in the pure word event, a transcendent word event. Karl

²⁸⁵ Frederick Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World*, trans. Franklin Philip (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 2, 214.

Barth, in fighting against natural theology prior to World War II, gave theological grounding to the pure word event as a transcendent event that is not to be tainted by human involvement.

Countering the Protestant bias in scholarship, Lester Grabbe posits, however, that prophecy is not set apart from the divinatory practices in ancient Israel, as scholarship with its modern Protestant bias is wont to make it.²⁸⁶ As in the case of Saul, one could seek communication from God in many ways. And, some practices in ancient Israel, like seeking guidance from the Urim or seeking enlightenment in a dream, were divinatory. The ecstatic experiences of the shamans that served a mediumistic function applied to the prophets of Israel as well.²⁸⁷ Ancient Israel was a primitive society. Some of the primitive divinatory ways to approach God were current in Israel as well. Anachronism has caused the divinatory practices of ancient Israel to fade from memory.²⁸⁸ Grabbe argues that there is not a “qualitative distinction between Old Testament prophets and those known in Mesopotamia or premodern cultures.”²⁸⁹ A platonic valorization of the spoken word should not occasion the scholar ignoring the complex, vibrant reality of people in their lived space. What they do with their bodies in that lived space is just as normative as any verbal production from that space. The boundary between divination and prophecy, then, is impossible to determine.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel*, 139.

²⁸⁷ Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages*, 111.

²⁸⁸ Ann Jeffers argues that scholars have relegated magic and divination to the distant background of ancient Israel. The distancing of ancient Israel from divinatory practices began already in the Hebrew Bible, where Deuteronomy 18:14 associates divinatory practices with the nations whose lands the ancient Israelites were to possess. The anachronism begins already with D. Cf. Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden, Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1996), 23.

²⁸⁹ Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages*, 117.

²⁹⁰ Frederick H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment: A Socio-Historical Investigation* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1994), 239.

Ann Jeffers defines divination as “the ability to understand how the parts are related to the whole, enabling a practitioner to get a synchronic insight into the past, present and future.”²⁹¹ Jeffers gets at an intuitive understanding prophets and practitioners of divination possessed especially during times of crisis. When the ballast that society provides is compromised in times of crises, people seek an intuitive connection with the whole, with the universal, with God.²⁹² There are some more gifted than others in seeing the whole in the chaotic parts. Daniel was one such person, adept at the mantic arts that granted him access to many tributaries to God. Divinity belonged to a learned class of people of which Daniel was a member.²⁹³

Jeffers argues for an emic approach to the study of a society. The emic approach places on center stage what the society says about itself rather than what others study about that society.²⁹⁴ 1 Samuel 28:6 reflects the emic approach. There is no condemnation of the divinatory channels Saul uses to get a word from God. In a crisis, Saul does what people do in his circumstance: seek the established ways of hearing from God. According to Jeffers, divinatory practices were prevalent in ancient Israel because of the many words used to designate diviners.²⁹⁵

3.8 Temple

The temple is the preoccupation of apocalyptic generally and Daniel specifically. Mount Sinai was the divine abode. Mountains were the habitation of the gods in the ancient Near East. Baal’s dwelling was on Mount Zaphon. According to Roland Clements, as the owner of the land, the establishment of proper worship was incumbent on the followers and worshippers of

²⁹¹ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 20.

²⁹² Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 20.

²⁹³ Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment*, 199.

²⁹⁴ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 22.

²⁹⁵ Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria*, 25.

Baal to continue in the land as tenants.²⁹⁶ El was like the Zeus of the Canaanite divine pantheon. His symbol was the bull. The active force in the pantheon was Baal. Anat's dwelling place was Inbb.²⁹⁷ The Canaanites, moreover, possessed many sanctuaries throughout the land associated with the various Canaanite deities.

The descendants of the patriarchs linked their forefathers' histories with various sacred places throughout Canaan, places like Bethel. El-Elyon was the chief God of pre-Israelite Jerusalem. El-Elyon was a manifestation of the God El, like El Shaddai, El Roi, El-Olam.²⁹⁸ The temple, moreover, was built in Zion because it was God's habitation.²⁹⁹ Yet, the building of the Temple by the Davidic dynasty would foist a wedge between the newer Jerusalem elements proffered by David and the older Israelite traditions in the North.³⁰⁰

According to John Lundquist, ancient religions revolved around temples.³⁰¹ Lundquist delineates what he considers the key elements of the common temple ideology of the ancient Near East: 1) the temple is the architectural reflection of the cosmic mountain, the home of the gods; 2) the cosmic mountain represents what Lundquist calls the "hillock," the place where the

²⁹⁶ Roland E. Clements, *God and Temple* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 3.

²⁹⁷ Clements, *God and Temple*, 11.

²⁹⁸ Clements, *God and Temple*, 47.

²⁹⁹ Clements, *God and Temple*, 55.

³⁰⁰ Clements, *God and Temple*, 58. Clements reviews the history of the conflict in the ancient priesthood by noting that Jeroboam built his royal sanctuaries in Bethel and Dan to lessen the pilgrimage traffic to Jerusalem. From the Canaanite cults he adopted the bull imagery. The bull imagery was meant to be the pedestals at the foot of stands on which the invisible Yahweh stood. According to Clement, Jeroboam's bull pedestals were no different in intent than the cherubim pedestals in the Temple at Jerusalem. The canonical prophets protested Jeroboam's bull imagery. Jeroboam's actions were derivative of an ongoing conflict between Ephraim and Judah. Ephraim saw itself as preserving the tradition of the covenant in the great northern sanctuaries like Shechem and Bethel. When the northern sanctuaries were destroyed by the Assyrians, survivors brought their traditions south into Judah. Clements notes that Joshua to 2 Kings reflect the theology and ideology of the northern critiques of Judah, whose cultus was influenced by Canaanite religion. The theology and ideology of the northern critiques of Zion get articulated by the Deuteronomist. Clements notes that the Deuteronomist's main interest is God's transcendence, not a deity localized at Zion. Israel's relationship was informed by an ethical, spiritual reality; though the Deuteronomist had trouble with the Temple in Zion, yet the Deuteronomist supports it as a center of the people's identity as an ethnicity.

³⁰¹ John Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East" in *Cult and Cosmos: Tilting Toward a Temple-Centered Theology*, edited by Michael Morales. (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2014), 49.

chaotic waters first receded from the earth after creation; 3) the temple is associated with the waters life which flow from a spring in the temple; 4) the temple is associated with the tree of life; 5) the temple is built on a separate, sacred space; 6) temples express the idea of a successive ascension to heaven; 7) the plans and measurements of the temple are revealed by God to the king or some other intermediary; the plans must be carried out; 8) the temple is the central, organizing and unifying institution in the ancient Near East; as such, the temple is associated with the prosperity of the people; the destruction of the temple spelled doom for the people; 9) the New Year rites of a temple include dramatic readings how the powers of chaos were disbanded by God; 10) tablets of destiny (divination) are consulted in the temple; 11) in the holy of holies God's word is revealed; 12) there is a close relationship between temple and law; 13) temple is the place of sacrifice; 14) the temple and its rituals are shrouded in secrecy; 15) the temple is central to the economy of the ancient Near East; and 16) the temple legitimizes the political establishment.³⁰²

Jon Levinson calls the Temple a microcosm.³⁰³ Gordon Wenham posits that the Garden of Eden is a sanctuary.³⁰⁴ Mircea Eliade says that humans fix God's abode at the center of the world.³⁰⁵ All these scholars express the centrality of the temple in the ancient Near East as the organizing principle of life. Ancient Israel was no different. Its temple is full of cosmic symbolism.³⁰⁶ According to Clements, the Temple was built to correspond with the rhythm of both heaven and earth. The Temple, as the microcosm of the macrocosm, was to be symbolic of

³⁰² Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," 52 – 53.

³⁰³ Jon D. Levinson, "Cosmos and Microcosm," in *Cult and Cosmos*, ed. Michael L. Morales (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2014), 231.

³⁰⁴ Gordon Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden," in *Cult and Cosmos*, edited by Michael L. Morales (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2014), 161.

³⁰⁵ Micea Eliade, "Sacred Space and Making the World Sacred," in *Cult and Cosmos*, ed. Michael L. Morales (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2014), 296.

³⁰⁶ Clements, *God and Temple*, 65.

God's reign over the universe, especially the powers of chaos that vitiate the possibilities of life.³⁰⁷

For the prophet Ezekiel, who informs Daniel's reflection on the Temple and the throne, God's glory was to return to a new Temple.³⁰⁸ The theology and ideology of Ezekiel are in the keeping with the Priestly writer. The Priestly writer is concerned with how Israel was to be reconstituted as a country after the exile. Repossession of the land was also a major concern for P.³⁰⁹ On the forefront of P's mind is God's presence returning to the land.³¹⁰ It is through such presence that Israel becomes a viable nation. Inasmuch as the presence of God is key to Ezekiel and P, the histories of the various theophanies of God become central to their theological reflection. The presence of God in the Temple and in the land is incumbent on right sanctuary, right cult, and right priesthood.³¹¹ As much as Ezekiel is concerned with the right cult under the aegis of a right priesthood on earth, he is as equally drawn to the heavenly temple. In exile God's presence was available to them even when there was no Temple at Jerusalem. Such a reflection would open the door for subsequent creative expressions of God's throne in apocalyptic. Ezekiel becomes the warrant for their creativity.

In the Book of Daniel, the cultic element is especially prevalent in chapters 1 – 7, where the writer deals with cultic space, time, objects, persons and actions.³¹² Winfried Vogel argues that scholars have focused on the time signature in Daniel to the exclusion of space. Time has been valorized over space because Daniel has been pigeonholed as an eschatological

³⁰⁷ Clements, *God and Temple*, 66.

³⁰⁸ Clements, *God and Temple*, 104.

³⁰⁹ Clements, *God and Temple*, 113.

³¹⁰ Clements, *God and Temple*, 113.

³¹¹ Clements, *God and Temple*, 121.

³¹² Winfried Vogel, *The Cultic Motif in the Book of Daniel* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 15.

phenomenon, at least Daniel in the hands of Christians. Because of this eschatological focus, the richness of Daniel in offering a bodied spirituality in sacred space has been overlooked. I argue that Daniel is more about illumination and transcendence than eschatology. Vogel posits, moreover, that the main theological themes in Daniel are informed by Daniel's awareness of cult. Mountain, Temple and throne are important to Daniel. Marvin Sweeney would agree with Vogel, noting the forms in which Daniel communicates are all informed by the cultic imagery, the priestly tradition and the Temple.³¹³

3.9 Mysticism

Mysticism is a species of religious experience. According to Philip Alexander, the mystic seeks a close emotional connection with God.³¹⁴ Gershom Scholem follows Rufus Jones in defining mysticism as an immediate awareness of God, immediate consciousness of God's presence.³¹⁵ Ben Zion Bokser notes that the objective of mysticism is to achieve an emotional connection with God. Biblical mysticism, according to Bokser, is immediate, less esoteric.³¹⁶ Peter Schäfer posits that mysticism derives from the Greek root μυεῖν, "to close one's eyes."³¹⁷ That Greek word means closing one's eyes to one reality and opening them to another.

Mysticism may fall under two designations: the ontological and epistemological. Ontologically-oriented mysticism is the absorption of the human by the divine. It derives from the subconscious and floods the conscious awareness with a sense of exaltation, elation, enlargement and power. Epistemologically-oriented mysticism derives from the belief that

³¹³ Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature*, 258.

³¹⁴ Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts* (New York: T and T Clark International, 2006), 8.

³¹⁵ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 4.

³¹⁶ Ben Zion Bokser, *The Jewish Mystical Tradition* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981), 7.

³¹⁷ Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1.

humans may know God directly. Humans enjoy an immediate vision of God here and now independently of what tradition and reason may provide.

Mysticism, moreover, is not the sole possession of any one religious tradition. It is a universal human phenomenon. Accordingly, an evolutionary-free *Religionsgeschichte* and phenomenological methodologies are the proper approaches to the study of mysticism across ethnic boundaries. Based on such methodologies, John Macquarrie has produced the following general characteristics of mysticism.³¹⁸ Directness: direct relation with God that produces locutions and visions from God to impart to an audience, such that any prophet of the Hebrew Bible experienced. Cognition: a mystical experience that produces understanding. Both directness and cognition are features of an epistemologically-oriented mysticism. Ecstasy or rapture: these are the byproducts of an ontologically-oriented mysticism. Apophaticism or negative theology: mystics understand the limitation of language and the symbols it produces. A healthy mysticism is informed by the reality that no mystical experience exhausts human experience. Self-knowledge or inwardness: among mystics there is attention to the integration of self in a fragmented world. Doctrine of God: generally speaking, the mystic doctrine of God is panentheistic, the whole in parts, the universal in particulars, or God in the many. Individualism: though mystics are adherents to their religious traditions, they recognize the *via mystica* is an individual pursuit. Passivity: the thinking and activity of everyday life is active; the thinking and activity of the mystic is contemplative, passive. The holistic view: the mystic sees and appreciates the interconnectivity, interdependency and mutuality of life. Prayer: the highest form

³¹⁸ John Macquarrie, *Two Worlds are Ours* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 7f.

of prayer for the mystic is contemplation, wherein the mystic grasps a larger truth in its wholeness.

Gershom Scholem³¹⁹ and Philip Alexander³²⁰ agree that mysticism does not take place in a vacuum. Mysticism is culturally informed like anything else in life. Every mystic has a *via mystica*, an infrastructure that supports the mystic in his/her journey to a deeper emotional connection with God. Crispin Fletcher-Louis sees the infrastructure of the *via mystica* in the apocalyptic writings. He recounts the many mystical phenomena in the apocalypses that demonstrate an encounter with the divine: disturbances to the physicality and emotionality of the visionary as in the loss of strength, involuntary prostration, catatonic states, trembling and loss of ordinary consciousness.³²¹ These physical and emotional alterations in the mystic come on the heels of some preparatory ritual that is explicit in the apocalypses. Fletcher-Louis notes that Enoch recites the “mantralike” prayers of the watchers before he has a dream vision.³²² There is fasting (Daniel 9:3) and mourning for the community. There is prayer. There are lifestyle disciplines like denying oneself certain foods, living kosher. Daniel’s apocalypse provides the infrastructure for his mystical experience. It is for this reason I designate the texts demonstrating Daniel’s *via mystica* as purgative, illuminative and unitive. Daniel’s *via mystica* derives from the text itself. Daniel’s *via mystica*, his infrastructure preparing him for mystical experience, from a *Religionsgeschichtliche* perspective is like the *viae mysticae* of other mystics across ethnicities who organize their lives for the optimal experience of God. How God comes to the mystic who prepares himself/herself, whether in a locution, an auditory experience, a

³¹⁹ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 6

³²⁰ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 8

³²¹ Crispin Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience in the Apocalypses” in *Experiencia, Volume I: Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, eds. Frances Flannery, Collen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, 125.

³²² Fletcher-Louis, “Religious Experience in the Apocalypses,” 125.

dream/vision or a cognitive enlightenment that sees the whole in the parts, is the prerogative of God. The mystic intentionally readies himself/herself for profound emotional connectivity with God. That readying is culturally informed.

Jewish mysticism is informed by what is culturally normative for them, namely the Bible. The prophets are the warrant for apocalyptic and mystical thinkers to extrapolate from them in creative ways, to speak in ever new ways. Vision was the common currency of the prophets and living a lifestyle that would catalyze visions from God. The Prophet Isaiah calls his prophecy a vision of the political exigencies occurring in Judah. In the year that King Uzziah died he saw the Lord on a throne, high and lifted up (Isaiah 6:1). The Prophet Jeremiah interacts with God in real, immediate ways when the word of God came to him. God spoke to him. God touched his mouth. The Lord came to him subsequently asking him what he sees: “I see a boiling pot from the face of the north” (Jeremiah 1:13f.).

The Prophet Ezekiel is the visionary par excellence. According to Schäfer, what is unique about Ezekiel’s visions is that they take place outside Jerusalem.³²³ Ezekiel sees an open heaven, which enables the prophet to have clairvoyance. In the open heaven, God is still on the throne, despite the destruction of the First Temple. Ezekiel, then, provides the key warrant for the development of later apocalypses engaging with God on the throne by entering the throne room where God is. For all the creativity of his vision, Ezekiel still remains outside the throne room. Enoch is the first to be privileged to ascend to heaven to hear the wisdom and words of God with which to instruct the faithful in the way that the high priest was wont to do on Yom Kippur by entering the holy of holies to hear Torah from God to instruct the people. According

³²³ Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*, 34.

to Michael Mach, the apocalyptic ascent stories are the soil that produces subsequent mystical ascents.³²⁴ The apocalypses and the Hekhalot writings share the same religious milieu: humans have access to a transcendental reality that they engage.³²⁵

3.10 Mysticism at Qumran

After their victory in 164 B.C.E., the Maccabees purified the Temple. Soon afterwards, the moderate Hellenists, one of the precipitating factors in the crisis from 175 - 164 B.C.E., regained control of the Temple worship.³²⁶ By 152 Jonathan the Hasmonean began the process of establishing hegemony over Judea. Jonathan made an agreement with the Seleucid pretender Alexander Balas, thereby allowing Jonathan to return his army to Jerusalem to take control of the Temple again. Jonathan was troubled by many of the Zadokite priests participating in the defilement of the Temple through their Hellenistic reforms and the compromises that had taken place under the moderate high priest Alcimus.³²⁷ Consequently, the Hasmoneans took control of the Temple together with the Pharisees. This action on the part of Jonathan and the Pharisees occasioned the founding of Qumran. According to Schiffman, remnants of the pious Zadokite (Sadducean) priests were behind the founding of Qumran. They were offended by the jettisoning of Sadducean traditions in favor of the Pharisaic ones. The precipitating factor in the founding of Qumran was Halakhic in character. 4QMMT, the Halakhic letter, delineates the disagreements the pious Zadokite priests had with the new order of things in the Temple at Jerusalem.³²⁸ Schiffman notes that the scrolls themselves produce the reason for the sectarian

³²⁴ Michael Mach, “From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, ed. John Collins, The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity vol. 1 (New York: Continuum Publishing, 1998), 231.

³²⁵ Mach, “From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism,” 261.

³²⁶ Lawrence Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), 82.

³²⁷ Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem*, 82.

³²⁸ Schiffman, *Jerusalem and Qumran*, 82.

reaction to what was occurring at Jerusalem. The scrolls produce the following ideas:³²⁹ 1) disagreements between the sectarians and the Temple authorities regarding ritual issues;³³⁰ 2) disagreements over the ritual issues occasioned the departure of the pious Zadokites; 3) the departed Zadokites sought substitutes for the Temple within the community itself; 4) the sectarians continued to study the laws of the Temple, though they did not participate in the Temple worship; 5) eschatological visions of the sectarians mythologized about taking control of the Temple; 6) they present offerings in keeping with their view of the law; and 7) in the end, the pious Zadokites expected a new Temple, built by God to be the replacement of the defiled Temple at Jerusalem. But, for that to happen, they had to be holy. Qumran is obsessive about holiness and purity. According to Schiffman, the conflict between the Sadducees and the Pharisees would continue throughout the Hasmonean period into the Herodian Period.³³¹ The end of the Hasmonean hegemony yielded control of the Temple back to the Sadducees. The Zadokites at Qumran, however, did not return to the Temple. Jewish sects were beginning to live without the Temple.³³²

Qumran was an apocalyptic community; it was necessary to mention the importance of Qumran as an apocalyptic community that valued apocalyptic generally and the Book of Daniel specifically, as it persevered several fragmented copies of Daniel and other apocalyptic works. Qumran was also a mystical community. Qumran intentionally became a place which organized itself to experience God in its liturgy and profound study. Qumran is an articulation of the

³²⁹ Schiffman, *Jerusalem and Qumran*, 83.

³³⁰ John Collins notes that earlier scholarship on the scrolls insisted that Qumran came into existence over the high priesthood. The dispute emanated from the calendar and technical points of Jewish law. According to Collins, scholars have come to appreciate the Halakhic nature of the scrolls and the establishment of the Qumran community. John Collins and Robert Kugler, eds., *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2000), 4.

³³¹ Collins and Kugler, eds., *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 4.

³³² Collins and Kugler, eds., *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 89.

apocalyptic and the mystical. *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* became a crucial text in the development of Jewish mysticism. Philip Alexander thinks that Qumran scholars are reticent to make the connection between Qumran and subsequent Jewish mystical development.³³³ Agreeing with Scholem, Alexander says there is no mysticism per se. Mysticism is an epiphenomenon of culture. Qumran provides a matrix from which Jewish mysticism emerges. Qumran is an example of an infrastructure of Jewish mystical practice. Alexander says mysticism arises from religious experience, “the experience of a transcended divine presence.”³³⁴ *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* beckon that presence; they invite the divine presence among those who pray the songs. Mystical possibilities abound when people ready themselves in the way that the teachers at Qumran prescribe. Intentional holiness and adherence to Halakhic practices catalyze those mystical possibilities.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice fall into two categories.³³⁵ The first category consists of songs about the heavenly temple where angelic priests praise God. The second consists of ascent to the celestial temple. According to Alexander, 4Q491_c is the key text in this category, “The Self-Glorification Hymn.”³³⁶ In the text a person speaks of how he ascended to heaven and communed with the angels. The precedent for this is Enoch and Daniel. This is the religious milieu of Hekhalot literature. *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* consist of 13 hymns describing the liturgy that the angels perform in heaven.³³⁷ 9 copies of the Songs have survived, 7 from 4Q and 1 from 11Q.³³⁸ The 9th copy derives from Masada. Generally, the Songs speak of the

³³³ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 5.

³³⁴ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 8.

³³⁵ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 10.

³³⁶ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 10.

³³⁷ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 13.

³³⁸ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 13.

earthly cult at Qumran “as a sacramental re-enactment” of the heavenly cult.³³⁹ The accoutrements of worship in heaven and on earth are described, namely the vestments of the heavenly high priest and the activity of the angels to promote a holy worship of God.

Alexander, moreover, addresses a problem that has plagued scholarship when it approaches mysticism in particular and the religious experiences in apocalypses in general. Do the various apocalyptic tropes nullify experience? Do mysticism and apocalypticism as literary phenomena nullify religious experience? Are they merely literary constructs with no basis in experience or reality? Alexander avers there are circles in scholarship where a dichotomy is foisted between the literary and the experiential. Alexander says: “If a text has clear literary antecedents, it is assumed that it cannot embody genuinely new religious experience.”³⁴⁰ Alexander answers such critics by saying that mysticism does not occur in a vacuum. Scripture proffers a matrix that informs Jewish mysticism.³⁴¹ That matrix provides a currency between scripture and individual experience. There is an interdependency between scripture and experience that mutually feed each other. In this matrix, scripture does not stand over against experience as a monologic and univocal voice. The matrix that Qumran provides through the liturgy of *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* is a polyphony of voices. Alexander says it this way: “There is an ebb and flow between text and experience. The evidence for a mystical praxis at Qumran is overwhelming.”³⁴² Scholarship has fixated on the text to the exclusion of religious experience.³⁴³ Alexander would invite a phenomenological investigation of religious experience to supplement serious literary study. The same would go for apocalypticism. As long as it is

³³⁹ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 42.

³⁴⁰ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 60.

³⁴¹ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 60.

³⁴² Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 60.

³⁴³ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 94.

seen solely as a literary phenomenon, the religious experiences hovering in the background of the apocalyptic visions are ignored by scholarship.

Alexander sees three aspects of the goal of mysticism at Qumran as union with the transcendent reality.³⁴⁴ First, harmonizing with the universe, harmonizing and living congruently with the essence of the universe, symbolized by the angels praising God. Song and music are at the foundation of the universe. Second, prayer with angels that enables the participant in the liturgy of the Songs to pray like the angels. To pray like the angels, however, demands holiness of life. Third, humans and angels form one communion, *una communio mystica*. That communion is vitiated by unholy living. Hence, it is incumbent on the teacher and his followers at Qumran to be holy, pure, unlike the wicked high priest and his followers at the Jerusalem Temple. Purity and holiness are the ethical byproducts of an authentic mysticism.

³⁴⁴ Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 108.

Chapter Four

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF DANIEL

The Hellenistic kings who succeeded Alexander the Great were military leaders.³⁴⁵ They extracted other people's resources through conquest. Greek conquest was for economic gain primarily and not the dissemination of Greek culture. Hellenization was an epiphenomenon of conquest, as it caused the elites in subjugated societies to alter their culture to curry favor with their imperial overlords for economic, political and social patronage.

The imperial strategy of extraction through military conquest is not a long-term solution for access to a people's resources. It is too costly: supporting a military expedition is economically prohibitive. The long-term subjugation of a people must be backed up by a hegemonic ideology. The Hellenistic ideology was promulgated through coins, statutes, architecture and the cult of the ruler.³⁴⁶ According to Anathea Portier-Young, horns were a prominent motif in Hellenistic iconography that served ideological purposes, as horns were associated with Seleucus I, renowned for his physical strength. Physical strength was an organizing value precipitated the violence that was an ever-present reality of life under the Hellenistic potentates. Judea was in the middle of perpetual chaos and violence, as the Ptolemies in Egypt and the Seleucids in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia vied for control of Judea, ever important as it laid on the trade route to Egypt. Alexander's death in 323 B.C.E. initiated the era of violence, when his generals fought over control of his vast empire. Dividing his empire in several ways, a treaty by the victorious generals in 301 B.C.E. awarded Syria-Palestine (known

³⁴⁵ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 50. This chapter is dependent on Portier-Young's excellent treatment of the historical factors leading to the revolt against Antiochus IV.

³⁴⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 51.

in Greek as Coele-Syria) to Seleucus I.³⁴⁷ The four main Diadochi were Ptolemy I who ruled Egypt, Palestine and Cilicia, Petra and Cypress; Seleucus I who ruled Mesopotamia, the Levant, and east Asia Minor; Lysimachus who ruled over Thrace, and west Asia Minor; and Cassander who ruled over Macedonia, the Greek (Macedonian) home of Philip and Alexander. Ptolemy I and Seleucus I both claimed Syria-Palestine as their possession. When the victorious generals gave Syria-Palestine to Seleucus I, the armies of Ptolemy I already occupied the area and he refused to pull them back and cede Syria-Palestine to Seleucus I. As a consequence, violence became the quotidian reality of life in the region. Their successors also competed for the land, as a total of six Syrian Wars between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids occurred between 274 – 168 B.C.E. Ever aware of the political exigencies of his time, Daniel mentions the violent milieu in the 11th chapter of his book. He is clear and historically correct about the protagonists and the antagonists, unlike his take on the Babylonian era earlier in his work. His historical miscues in the first half of his work reveal that he did not live during the Babylonian Exile.

Seleucid rule began in 200 B.C.E. at the conclusion of the 5th Syrian War.³⁴⁸ Antiochus III finally defeated the Egyptian (Ptolemaic) armies. He took over sovereignty of Palestine and Phoenicia. During the 5th Syrian War Jewish leaders threw their support behind Antiochus III, as they wanted the Egyptian garrison and the citadel that housed them out of Jerusalem. Because of their support, Antiochus III reciprocated with substantial benefits. For instance, he granted them life-long tax exemption and resources to refurbish the Temple.³⁴⁹ Various leaders were singled out in Antiochus III's letter sent to Ptolemy in the aftermath of the war: members of the council, priests, Temple scribes and singers. According to Portier-Young, two letters written by

³⁴⁷ Carol Newsom, with Brennen W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 23.

³⁴⁸ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 55.

³⁴⁹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 55.

Antiochus III to Ptolemy, preserved in Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*, form the cornerstone of the Seleucid's operating policy in Jerusalem: *The Letter to Ptolemy* and *The Programma*.³⁵⁰ The aforementioned leaders singled out for privileges may have played a role in the production of *The Programma*, as it is replete with their interests in returning Jerusalem as a holy city under the guidance of its ancient traditions.³⁵¹ *The Programma* decrees only Jews who have purified themselves may enter the sanctuary. It emphasizes the ancient traditions of the Jewish people, as it reinforces priestly distinctions between pure and impure. The Jew is separated from the foreigner, as the Torah calls for Jews to be holy, distinct. Despite being under foreign occupation, Judea would assert its distinctive identity informed by its ancestral laws.³⁵² The Temple and its precincts were once again to be a sacred space that testifies to the holiness of God and those who serve in the Temple. Kosher laws, moreover, were to be followed. *The Letter to Ptolemy* and *The Programma* established the precedence of an irenic relationship between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their Syrian overlords until it was altered subsequently by the Antiochus IV.

The stated objectives of *The Letter to Ptolemy* and *The Programma* are one thing; reality is quite another. Portier-Young reveals “the stressors” in the everyday life of the Jewish people on every level, from the urban environs to the rural, the rulers and the ruled.³⁵³ Because they were a people whose land was occupied by a foreign power, they were at the mercy of their overlords. They lacked real political autonomy. What may be granted through the good graces of one emperor may be taken away by another. That was always an imminent threat. Without political autonomy they were vulnerable to imperial exploitation. Their resources were not theirs

³⁵⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 55.

³⁵¹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 58.

³⁵² Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 58.

³⁵³ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 58

and could be extracted on a whim. Portier-Young describes the political reality when she notes 70,000 troops still bivouacked in Jerusalem at the close of the 5th Syrian War.³⁵⁴ Together with these troops, there was an elephant corps of 150 elephants that exhausted agricultural resources. The presence of so many troops, moreover, occasioned violence and rape of girls and women. There was social and economic hardship; yet, some fared better than others, as there was an unequal distribution of economic and political privileges.³⁵⁵

In this milieu just after the 5th Syrian War, there was another key stressor that Portier-Young locates. There was debate over what constituted authoritative tradition and the contours of that tradition.³⁵⁶ Portier-Young says, “Ancestral laws as tradition is not a fixed tablet, but are in the process of being articulated and performed.”³⁵⁷ Tradition is never merely inherited; it is in the process of being produced. Hence, in this era there was an ongoing debate about the content of tradition and its place in informing identity. Portier-Young calls the engagement with tradition “an imaginative and creative process.”³⁵⁸ A product of the creative, imaginative engagement with tradition is that God is reimagined as king.³⁵⁹ The products of imagination are put down in writing, which was the important tool of empire. Writing was a powerful tool of empire not merely to catalogue and inventory its possessions, but also the medium through which to disseminate its ideology. The subjugated Jews use writing to counter the ideology of Hellenistic emperors. God is a sovereign king. Portier-Young notes, “In this period the use and invention of scriptural tradition will be a crucial resource for the construction of Jewish identity, practice and belief in relation to colonizing powers and providing authorization for resistance

³⁵⁴ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 73.

³⁵⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 73.

³⁵⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 74.

³⁵⁷ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 74.

³⁵⁸ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 74

³⁵⁹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 77.

when those powers threaten the peace, well-being and survival of the Jewish people.”³⁶⁰ The production of this tradition that may be used in varied and sundry ways occurs in the context of debate. Such debate was a significant stressor for the Jewish people.

Ten years after Antiochus III’s defeat of Ptolemy V in the 5th Syrian War, Rome defeated Antiochus III in its battle with the Syrians over control of Greece. After the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.E., the terms of the established treaty were severe.³⁶¹ Seleucid activity in Europe and Asia Minor was limited. As a way to depower the royal family, Rome demanded that twenty hostages be sent to Rome every three years. Antiochus IV was one such hostage sent to Rome. The Syrian empire was forced to pay a substantial indemnity, which strained its resources. Antiochus III and his successors, Seleucus IV (187 - 175 B.C.E.) and Antiochus IV (175 - 164 B.C.E.) were forced to identify new sources of revenue within their own empire. Antiochus III died in an attempt to extract funds from a temple of Baalzeus in Elam.³⁶² Seleucus IV extracted resources from the Jerusalem Temple. The Temple came under Seleucid control, which vitiated the previous agreement in *The Letter to Ptolemy* and *The Programma* that gave a semblance of protection of the Temple from foreign control. Seleucus IV sent his minister Heliodorus to the Jerusalem Temple sometime between 178 – 175 B.C.E.

Antiochus IV had been held hostage many years in Rome. After being released, on his way home to Syria he heard of the assassination of his brother Seleucus IV in 175 B.C.E.³⁶³ He took advantage of the opportunity to take the throne. The high priest at the beginning of Antiochus IV’s reign was Onias III. The high priesthood had been in the Oniad family for

³⁶⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 77.

³⁶¹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 77.

³⁶² Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 77.

³⁶³ Lester L. Grabbe and Gabbriele Boccaccini, eds., with Jason M. Zurawsky, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview* (London: Bloomsbury T and T Clark, 2016), 21.

generations; yet, a rival family, the Tobiads of the Transjordan, desired the high priesthood as access to more power and wealth. Joseph Tobiad had eight sons, of whom three were priests, namely Simon, Menelaus and Lysimachus. The Tobiad family made its wealth as tax farmers for the crown.³⁶⁴ The precipitating factor leading to the wholesale simony of the high priest office was not Hellenization. Both families were Hellenized to one degree or another. The elites of a city such as Jerusalem were quite comfortable with Greek ways, as even before Alexander's conquest the Greeks had long been present in the Levant. The precipitating factor, then, was competition between three powerful families when the Sanballats (the family of the governor of Samaria) are thrown into the mix together with the Oniads and the Tobiads. Though these families intermarried among themselves, they were bitter rivals.³⁶⁵ Their rivalry dates back to the 3rd century over tax farming rights.

According to Lester Grabbe, a dispute arose between Simon (Tobiad) and the high priest Onias.³⁶⁶ Simon went to Seleucus IV to make his case. He accused Onias of conspiring with the Ptolemies. Subsequently, Onias went to Antioch to defend himself against Simon's charges. Before he got there, however, Antiochus IV had come to the throne. Onias' defense of himself proved unsuccessful with the new emperor. Jason, Onias' brother, took advantage of Onias' misfortune. He lobbied for himself the high priesthood, offering Antiochus IV a large sum of money and the promise of making Jerusalem into a Greek city equipped with a gymnasium and an ephebeion for Greek education.³⁶⁷ Jason held the high priesthood for three years. Menelaus, a Tobiad, copied Jason in procuring the office of high priesthood illegitimately. Menelaus

³⁶⁴ Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Incorporated, 1999), 154.

³⁶⁵ Carol Newson, with Brennan W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 24.

³⁶⁶ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 21.

³⁶⁷ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 21.

promised Antiochus IV an even higher sum of money. He was granted approval to remove Jason from the highest office and drive him from the city. Antiochus IV was impelled to accept Menelaus' offer, as he was perennially strapped for cash. From his perspective, it was merely a pecuniary decision. From Menelaus' perspective, it was a power play among rival families.³⁶⁸

Menelaus, moreover, offered Antiochus IV an exorbitant amount of money. He failed to pay it. Antiochus IV summoned him to Antioch. While waiting for Antiochus IV, Menelaus allegedly instigated the murder of Onias III, the former high priest, who had divulged his unsavory machinations. While he was away from Jerusalem, Menelaus deputized his brother Lysimachus as high priest to attend to the affairs of the Temple and the city in his absence. It was rumored that he, Lysimachus and their allies were plundering the Temple, selling off various golden vessels. A riot broke out. Lysimachus was killed. The council of leaders, the Gerousia, brought charges against Menelaus. He gained his acquittal from Antiochus IV through bribery.³⁶⁹ Menelaus' accusers were subsequently killed. While Menelaus was away from Jerusalem, Jason, the former high priest ousted by Menelaus, gathered about him an army of 1,000 soldiers. A rumor had it that Antiochus IV was killed in Egypt in a battle against the Ptolemies. Based on the canard, Jason made his bid for the city. He entered the city with his army in 169 or 168 B.C.E. Civil war ensued. The Jerusalem populace's religious sensibilities had been offended because of the theft of the Temple vessels and the presence once again of Jason, the usurper.³⁷⁰ The religious issue that animated the people was the treatment of the office of high priesthood and the Temple and wholesale theft of the sacred items of the Temple. According to Grabbe, Hellenization was not the animating cause per se.³⁷¹ Amid the chaos,

³⁶⁸ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 23.

³⁶⁹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 123.

³⁷⁰ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 24.

³⁷¹ Grabbe, *The Seleucid and Hasmonean Periods and the Apocalyptic Worldview*, 24.

Jason slaughtered his own people. Support for him waned. He fled the city. Various factions in the city kept Jerusalem in an uproar. This was the pretext that Antiochus IV needed to enter Jerusalem to abate the chaos. Antiochus IV entered the city to pacify it and gain a solid control over all of Judea.

In an age replete with violence, terror was a mechanism used by Hellenistic kings for control and domination.³⁷² According to Portier-Young, terror was meant to shatter any illusions that a subjugated people may entertain relative to their autonomy. It was meant to break their spirits, to make them into the walking dead. Antiochus IV's army killed 40,000 people. 40,000 were sold into slavery.³⁷³ The objective of the terror was to remake the city in his own image and to so scare the people psychologically that they would think twice about fomenting future rebellion. Menelaus stood silent as Antiochus IV plundered the Temple. The theft served both a pecuniary purpose and an ideological one: to demonstrate to the subjugated people that their God was powerless to save them.³⁷⁴

Antiochus IV issued an edict outlawing the practice of Judaism. This was unheard of in the ancient world. After the initial 40,000 were slaughtered, further public killings and torture ensued to bolster his ideological objectives. It was sanctioned torture by a political authority and the Jews were powerless. Antiochus IV had total access to compromise their sacred space at the Temple and their safe-havens at home. He caused emotional chaos by disrupting the staid relationship between the cosmos, time and human life.³⁷⁵ The natural rhythms of the people in their social space were disrupted, keeping them on pins and needles. His sanctioned torture of

³⁷² Portiter-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 141.

³⁷³ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 141.

³⁷⁴ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 144.

³⁷⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 182.

the Jewish people was complete: outlawing Torah, circumcision, and the daily sacrifices at the Temple. The Temple was repurposed for worship of Zeus, naming it in honor of the Olympian Zeus.

The edict, moreover, outlawed traditional practices, but ordained new ones backed by the threat of death, like the compulsory monthly celebration of Antiochus IV's birthday.³⁷⁶ The celebration of festivals honoring Dionysius was also made compulsory. All privileges granted the Jewish people by Antiochus III as the space wherein to develop their identity and govern themselves according to ancestral laws were revoked.³⁷⁷ The Jews resisted. Key to the resistance movement was writing. This chaotic milieu also catalyzed Daniel to write to encourage his circle to remain faithful to their God and their traditions that codified their people's engagement with their God over centuries. Writing is a powerful tool of expression; so is the comportment of one's person and actions in his/her third space. People look to leaders for strength in such trying moments. Resistance was as varied as the groups that resisted: some chose violent actions. Daniel and his fellow *maskilim* chose faith and trust in God to deliver them, preferring the transcendent power of nonviolent engagement over the "little help" of violence. Prayer that opens up mystical possibilities of transformation is the course of action Daniel and his fellow *maskilim* take. In their third space engagement, they resist and decolonize. Both are two sides of the coin of transcending experiences of dehumanization.

³⁷⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 185.

³⁷⁷ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 191.

Chapter 5

THE PURGATIVE TEXTS

Daniel's mystic third space is the place where he resists the repressive measures of Antiochus IV and decolonizes himself from the denigrative images of himself and his people caused by the sanctioned torture and the outlawing of their traditions. Antiochus IV's actions devalued Jewishness as an identity. In next three chapters, I shall lay out Daniel's *via mystica*. His mystical way is like that of most mystics throughout history. It has a purgative element, whereby one structures one's life around the things of God as defined by one's culture. Purgation is the attempt to do those things that lead to holiness and refrain from others that do not. Purgation means making space in one's psyche for the things of God. In the case of Daniel, the things of God are constituted by Torah and prayer. Eating kosher, following traditional dietary laws and fasting make space in one's life for more Torah and prayer. Once achieving a rhythm in purgation, illumination begins to occur at the behest of God. It is God's prerogative to grant a vision, locution or any other spiritual experience that is revelatory and illuminative. The mystic prepares himself/herself for illumination, epiphany, revelation, which may come in divers of ways. The final movement of Daniel's *via mystica* is the unitive. Union with God is the end of the mystical way. Such union may occur in this life or in the next. The ultimate union for Daniel is the resurrection of the martyred *maskilim*.

This chapter is about the purgative movement of Daniel's *via mystica*. The next chapter deals with his illuminative movement. And, chapter 7 will address the unitive movement of Daniel's mystical way. Mysticism does not occur in a vacuum. It has an infrastructure in a communal life. In his book, Daniel does what mystics have historically done. He structures his life with the expectation that God will communicate to him in the trying crisis in which he and

his people find themselves. His *via mystica* is not an invitation to run away from reality, but to transcend it. Having transcended reality, he achieves an inner freedom and power to resist Antiochus IV and to decolonize his psyche from the negative images of a madman.

5.1 Kosher Text: Daniel 1:8-21 (The footnotes in the Hebrew text refer to the words that precede them.)

וַיְשִׁם דָנִיאֵל עַל־לֶבֶן³⁷⁸ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָתַגְאֵל³⁷⁹ בְּפַתְּבָג³⁸⁰ הַמֶּלֶךְ וּבֵין³⁸¹
מִשְׁתְּיוֹר³⁸² וּבְקַשׁ מִשְׁר הַפְּרִיסִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָתַגְאֵל: ⁹ וַיַּהַיּוּ הָאֱלֹהִים אַתָּה
דָנִיאֵל לְחַסֵּד³⁸³ וּלְרָחָםִים לְפָנֵי שַׁר הַפְּרִיסִים: ¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר שַׁר הַפְּרִיסִים
לְדָנִיאֵל יְרָא אַנְיָן אַת־אֶלְנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר מִנָּה אַת־מְאַכֵּל וְאַת־מִשְׁתַּיִכְמֶם
אֲשֶׁר לִמְהָ יְרָא אַת־פְּנֵיכֶם זָעֲפִים מִן־הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר כִּגְילְכֶם וְתִיבְתַּמְמִּים
אַת־רָאשֵׁי לְמֶלֶךְ: ¹¹ וַיֹּאמֶר דָנִיאֵל אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ צָרָר³⁸⁴

³⁷⁸ דָנִיאֵל is found in Ezekiel 14:14, 20; 28:3; and Nehemiah 10. The spelling in Ezekiel is different: דָנָאֵל. In fact, all the names of the four youths are attested in Nehemiah: Daniel (Nehemiah 10:7); Hananiah (Nehemiah 18:24); Mishael (Nehemiah 8:4); and Azariah (Nehemiah 10:3). The names were current in the Second Temple era.

³⁷⁹ The heart is the place where thinking occurs. Though לֶבֶן is an anatomical designation, it is used figuratively for the heart as the seat of emotions and thinking.

³⁸⁰ יָתַגְאֵל in the imperfect hithpael, 3rd person masculine singular, from גָּאֵל, “defile,” occurs in this form in the Hebrew Bible only in Daniel 1:8.

³⁸¹ פַתְּבָג is a Persian loan word according to BDB, meaning “king’s portion,” “delicacies.” The LXX (OG) translates this word δείπνῳ, which means not particular items of the king’s table, but “dinner.” Theodotion (θ) translates it τραπέζῃ, “table.” Both Greek texts emphasize the idea of not merely eating certain food items, but engaging in a table fellowship where political alliances are forged and reinforced. The Vulgate (V) follows the two main Greek texts in emphasizing the eating of the king’s food in the fuller context of what occurs at the king’s table relative to the promulgation of an ideology and political alliances. Latin: mensa.

³⁸² בֵּין מִשְׁתְּיוֹר is a difficult construction proven by the Greek texts being all over the map in translating it. The LXX is a less literal rendering of the Hebrew text: ἐν τῷ πίνει οἴνῳ, “in (with) the wine he drinks.” In keeping with its overall literal translation of the Hebrew text, the θ is a more literal rendering: εν τῷ οἴνῳ του πότου αὐτοῦ, “in (with) the wine of his drink.” M and θ are both awkward. V follows M and θ: *de vino potus eius*, “from the wine of his drink,” in the sense that Daniel did not want to pollute himself from (*de*) the king’s table and from (*de*) the wine of his drink. Simple rendering in English is: “with his wine.”

³⁸³ לְחַסֵּד וּלְרָחָם is frequent throughout the Psalms according to Andre’ Lacocque. John Collins calls the phrase a biblical idiom found in the likes of Hosea 2:21; Jeremiah 16:5; and Zechariah 7:9. The LXX translates it: τιμὴν καὶ χάριν, “honor and grace.” θ: εἰς ελεον καὶ εἰς οικτηριον, “mercy and compassion.” V: *gratiam et misericordiam*, “grace and mercy.”

³⁸⁴ המֶלֶץ derives from the Akkadian word *mansāru*, “supervisor,” “guard.” The Greek and the Latin versions translate the word as a name of a person: LXX, Αβιεσδρι; θ μελσαδ; V: *Malassar*.

אֲשֶׁר מִנָּה שַׁר הַפְּרִיסִים עַל־דָּנִיאֵל חַנְנָה מִשְׁאָל וְעֹזְרִיה : ¹² נִסְנָא
 אֶת־עַבְדִּיך יִמְים עַשְׂרָה וַיַּחֲנֹן־לָנוּ מִן־הַזְּרֻעִים ³⁸⁵ וְנָאכְלָה וּמִם וְגַשְׁתָּה :
 וַיַּרְאָו לִפְנֵיך מְرָאֵינו וּמְرָאָה הַיְלָדִים הָאֲכָלִים אֶת פַּתְבָּג הַמֶּלֶך
 וְכֹאשֶׁר תְּرָאָה עַשְׂה עַמְּךָ : ¹⁴ וַיַּשְׁמַע לְהַם לְדָבָר תְּזָה וַיַּנְפַּס יִמְים
 עַשְׂרָה : ¹⁵ וּמִקְצָת יִמְים עַשְׂרָה נִרְאָה מְרָאֵיהם טֹב וּבְרִיאָי בְּשֶׁר מִן־
 כָּל־הַיְלָדִים הָאֲכָלִים אֶת פַּתְבָּג הַמֶּלֶך : ¹⁶ וַיַּחֲנֹן הַמֶּלֶך נִשְׁא אֶת־
 פַּתְבָּגָם וַיַּיְן מִשְׁתִּיחָם וַיַּתְנוּ לְהַם זָרְעָנִים : ¹⁷ וְהַיְלָדִים הָאֲלָה אַרְבָּעָתָם
 נִתְנוּ לְהַם הָאֱלֹהִים מִתְּבָע וְהַשְּׁפֵל בְּכָל־סְפָר וְחַכְמָה וְדָנִיאֵל הַבִּין בְּכָל־
 חִזּוֹן וְחִלּוּמֹת : ¹⁸ וְלִמְקַצָּת הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר־אָמַר הַמֶּלֶך לְהַבִּיאָם וַיַּבִּיאָם שַׁר
 הַפְּרִיסִים לִפְנֵי נְבָכְרָנָצָר : ¹⁹ וַיֹּדַבֵּר אֲתָּם הַמֶּלֶך וְלֹא נִמְצָא מִכְלָם
 כְּדָנִיאֵל חַנְנָה מִשְׁאָל וְעֹזְרִיה וַיַּעֲמֹדוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶך : ²⁰ וְלֹל דָבָר חִכְמָת
 בִּינָה אֲשֶׁר־בְּקָש מִהַּם הַמֶּלֶך וַיִּמְצָאָם עַשְׂרָה יְדֹות עַל כָּל־הַחֲרַטְמִים
 הָאַשְׁפִּים ³⁸⁶ אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל־מִלְכָוָתו : ²¹ וַיַּהַי דָנִיאֵל עַד־שְׁנָת אַחַת לְכֹרֶש
 הַמֶּלֶך : ב

Translation

- 8) And Daniel purposed in his heart not to defile himself with the portion of the king or with his wine; so, he sought from the chief of the eunuchs not to defile himself.
- 9) And God gave Daniel favor and mercies relative to the chief of the eunuchs.
- 10) The chief of the eunuchs said to Daniel, “I fear my Lord the king who determined your food and drink. Why should he see your countenances more vexed than those of the youth of your own age? You all thereby make my head guilty before the king.”

³⁸⁵ הַזְּרֻעִים the literal meaning is “seeds.” It is used as a metonymy, as a part for the whole. All agricultural products come from seeds as produce. It designates non-meat. Its only occurrence in the Hebrew Bible is its substantialized participial form here in Daniel chapter one. LXX has ὄσπριών, “of legumes,” “of produce.” Θ has the literal translation σπερματῶν, “of seeds.” V has *legumina ad vescendum*, “legumes for eating.”

³⁸⁶ הַחֲרַטְמִים is a Egyptian word. It occurs also in reference to the Joseph novella and Moses’ confrontation of the Egyptian sages. The LXX has σοφιστὰς. Θ has εποιδους. V: *ariolos*.

³⁸⁷ הַאֲשָׁפִים is of Akkadian derivation, *āšipu*, “exorcist.” LXX: φιλοσόφους. Θ: μαγούς. V: *magos*.

- 11) Daniel said to the guardian whom the chief of the eunuchs placed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah:
- 12) “Test indeed your servants ten days. Let them give us some vegetables that we may eat and water that we may drink.
- 13) Let our appearance and the appearance of the youth eating the portion of the king be presented before you; then, deal with your servants as you see.”
- 14) He listened to them relative to this matter. He tested them ten days.
- 15) At the end of ten days he saw their countenances were good, fatter in the flesh than all the youth eating the king’s portion.
- 16) The guardian took their portion and their wine and gave them vegetables.
- 17) God gave these four youths learning and skill in all literature and wisdom. Daniel understood all visions and dreams.
- 18) At the end of the time determined by the king for them to be presented, the chief of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar.
- 19) The king spoke with them. Among them all he did not find one as Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. They stood before the king.
- 20) In all matters of wisdom and understanding which the king sought from them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in all his kingdom.
- 21) And Daniel was there until the first year of King Cyrus.

Structural Analysis

INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVE, DANIEL 1: 1 - 21

I. The Rejection of the king's Food: vv. 8 - 16

A. The problem: Daniel's resolution not to eat the king's food: v. 8a

B. The proffering of a solution: vv. 8b - 14

1. Daniel's plea: v. 8b

2. The response of the chief eunuch: vv. 9 - 10

a. God made the chief eunuch sympathetic: v. 9

b. He fears his lord: v. 10

3. Daniel proposes a test: vv. 11 - 13

4. The chief eunuch accedes to the test: v. 14

C. The result of the test: vv. 15 - 16

1. The comparison of Daniel and his colleagues with other youth: v. 15

2. The change of assigned diet: v. 16

II. The Conclusion: vv. 17 - 21

A. The divine illumination of the youth: v. 17

B. The assessment by the king: vv. 18 - 20

1. The youth are summoned before the king: v. 18

2. The interview by the king: v. 19a

3. The comparison with other youth: v. 19b

4. The comparison with the professional class of sages: v. 20

B. The statement of the duration of Daniel's career: v. 21

Daniel 1 presents the protagonists and the antagonist, namely Daniel and his colleagues and the Babylonian king. New names have been imposed upon the Jewish youths to remind them of their new reality away from home. They are forced to live a hybrid existence, negotiating two cultures. While the chapter is about Daniel's hybrid existence in Babylon, it also narrates Daniel is not powerless in defining the contours and extent of that existence. Hybridity is a negotiated reality. His antagonist may cart his body away; ultimately, however, Daniel will not allow the king to have unilateral control over his body. This text reveals what informs Daniel's resistance. He wants to keep kosher. He will not defile his body through unkosher living. He chooses to eat those things that will not cause him to violate the kosher laws of his religion. The narrator is the primary voice throughout chapter one; the narrator introduces the various personages and gives emotional color especially to Daniel and his colleagues. The chief of the eunuchs speaks once and Daniel twice. The structure is snap and quick. It arrives quickly to the *denouement*, namely how to be faithful to ancient traditions and the consequence of such faithfulness is that God may reward such faithfulness either now or later in the resurrection in the case of those whose faithfulness leads them to be martyred. The faithfulness of Daniel and the faithfulness of God are mutually informing and empowering. Without this mutually interacting faithfulness at both ends of the divine/human spectrum why would one ever consider resisting? This chapter signals the theme of the book; and, the section that I have demarcated displays in stark relief the theological organizing principle that unifies the whole work: the תְּהִלָּה of both God and humans participating in a mutuality of faithfulness.

Genre

There are several genres operative in chapter one. The predominant one is legend.³⁸⁸

Daniel is a holy man whose feats of faithfulness are meant to catalyze the audience to follow him in faithfulness. The legendary contours of the chapter are seen specifically in Daniel refusing to eat of the king's portion, the king's food. Like the legendary lives of the saints from the Christian, medieval era, the story of Daniel standing in defiance and resisting is meant to elicit a response of wonder in the audience. This is the purpose of legend. Historic figures are made bigger than life to inspire a response of faithfulness in the hearers of their feats.

Daniel's legendary status is extended in the context of the genre of the court tale. All the genres form a matrix from which unfolds a diverse and colorful story. There are no boundaries between the genres: they all participate in each other to drive the creative endeavor. Establishing hard and fast generic taxonomies is futile and vitiates the rhetorical dynamism of the story. The court tale, moreover, has several movements: 1) the protagonist begins in a state of prosperity; 2) the protagonist is threatened; 3) a sentence of death is pronounced; 4) the protagonist is released after proving his/her authenticity; and 5) the protagonist becomes more prominent.³⁸⁹ Verses 8 - 21 begin the ascendancy of Daniel. He is singled out by God for his faithfulness; he is singled out by the Nebuchadnezzar for his brilliance. Daniel, the protagonist, will rise to great heights, fall and be reestablished like Joseph, Esther, Tobit and Ahiqar.

The generic complexity of Daniel in chapter one is established further by what Carol Newsom calls *Bildungsroman*.³⁹⁰ The first four chapters are not only about the hero, Daniel, and

³⁸⁸ John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989), 6. John Collins and Carol Newsom agree with Goldingay that the legend stands at the core of the stories generally and chapter one specifically.

³⁸⁹ John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1995), 45.

³⁹⁰ Carol Newsom, with Brennen W. Breed, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 33.

his companions; they are also an education for Nebuchadnezzar. He comes to understand and confess the sovereignty of God; he is not the sovereign one. As Daniel will go through the vicissitudes of court life, to rise to fall to rise again, so Nebuchadnezzar will rise and fall to rise again with more possibilities. He will come to understand the accoutrements of empire are a dubious mixture of clay and precious metals. God's providential intelligence informs not only the covenanted people; it also informs those who do not belong to Daniel's faith community. God is not their sole possession. God is active in the ordering of chaos. In Job 39, God questions Job about the hidden lives of animals in the wilderness, in the place of chaos. God tells Job that God's intelligence extends even to those chaotic places of the earth. Like the other empires, the Babylonian Empire will emerge from the sea, another symbol of chaos. It is God who gives Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar. God controls even the chaos and what emerges from that chaos in the form of possibilities. Nebuchadnezzar comes to understand that sovereign intelligence. Antiochus IV does not.

Setting

The narrative setting of Daniel 1:8 - 21 is the Babylonian court in the Diaspora. The opening verses of Daniel 1 do not conform to the established facts. Jehoiakim was king of Jerusalem prior to the ascension of Nebuchadnezzar. Jehoiakim began his rule in 609 B.C.E. The beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was 605 B.C.E. Daniel's "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim" would antedate by one year the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. According to 2 Kings 25 and *The Babylonian Chronicle*, there is no Babylonian siege of Jerusalem before 598 B.C.E.³⁹¹ In answer to the question from whence did Daniel get his

³⁹¹ Newsom, *Daniel*, 39.

information that in the third year of Jehoiakim's reign Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, Newsom posits that Daniel 1:1 may be informed by 2 Chronicles 36:5 - 7, where it says: "Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem. He did what evil in the sight of the Lord his God. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and bound him with chains to take him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon and put them in his palace in Babylon." This 2 Chronicles text is historically untenable. Yet, a likely source for the Chronicler's tradition may be Jeremiah 22:10 - 12, where he predicts that Jehoiakim would die in exile and Jeremiah 25: 1 - 4, where the prophet says that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim and in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah. According to Newsom, Daniel may have arrived at his date through an attempt to harmonize the account in Chronicles with 2 Kings 24:1 which notes that Jehoiakim became Nebuchadnezzar's vassal for three years. He then rebelled, which occurred in 601 B.C.E., but the account in 2 Kings 24:1 does not specify the date. Newsom says: "This leaves open the possibility for the reader to assume that the revolt occurred in the third year of his kingship."³⁹² Yet, all this might be solved by the simple proposal that the author of Daniel got mixed up with Jehoiakim and his son Jehoiachin, whose reign, 594 B.C.E., would be more consonant with the facts.³⁹³ As attractive as that proposal may be, it does not explain the literary facts. Daniel's information is from prophetic texts.³⁹⁴ According to Daniel's dating, the Babylonian siege occurred at 606 B.C.E. This accommodates Jeremiah's prophecy that the exile would last 70

³⁹² Newsom, *Daniel*, 40.

³⁹³ André Lacocque, *Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), 24.

³⁹⁴ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 24.

years. It is the author's faithfulness to emerging sacred scripture that is the formative element in the crafting the narrative.

The historical setting for Daniel 1:8 - 21 is the years 169 - 164 B.C.E., when Antiochus IV entered Jerusalem to terrorize it into submission after the rioting fomented by the abuse of the high priesthood and the robbing of the Temple of its treasured items. Those events precipitated a crisis of identity, a crisis of survival as a people, as what was essential to their identity was compromised. Their existence was at stake. Daniel choosing to be faithful and follow the kosher laws of his people would have spoken to many in the second century facing the same challenge to be faithful, even faithful unto death. Loyalty and faithfulness to food laws and other traditions had become a matter of life and death in mid-second century B.C.E.³⁹⁵

Daniel 1:8 - 21 shows a consonance with its *Sitz in der Literatur*, literary setting. Genesis 43:34, for instance, notes portions from Joseph's table were given to the sons of Jacob when they sat to eat with Joseph. Inasmuch as Benjamin was favored by the Joseph, he got five times the portion of his siblings. This illustrates the use of food to forge alliances with others and to show patronage.

In that same tenor, in 1 Samuel 20:5 David asks his friend and confident Jonathan to gauge his father's emotional mood while at dinner. Because David would be away on this particular evening, Saul would question his son as to the whereabouts of David, son of Jesse. David had become a regular at Saul's table since he demonstrated his heroism over Goliath and in subsequent battles. Eating with Saul was an occasion to forge and extend political alliances.

³⁹⁵ Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 29.

2 Maccabees 7 tells the story of a Jewish mother and her seven sons who were arrested and forced to eat pork, to violate their ancient traditions. The mother saw each of her seven sons remain faithful by not eating the pork, and they suffered martyrdom. In the end, she was martyred for her faithfulness.

2 Maccabees 6 relates a similar story like the above. In this case it was Eleazar, a chief scribe. Though he was advanced in years, pork was foisted into his mouth. But he refused it. He chose death over not living in conformity with the kosher laws of his religion.

The story of Judith, found in the Septuagint together with Maccabees and Tobit, also has a food issue like Daniel's. Judith, the beautiful widow, uses her feminine wiles to seduce her way into the life of Holofernes, the general of Nebuchadnezzar. Judith, a Joan of Arc figure, upbraids her fellow Jews for not trusting God to deliver them from foreign oppression. Judith 12 relates that she was invited into Holofernes' quarters. She was given food from his table, which she refuses; instead, she chooses to eat her own food, obviously not knowing how the food of foreigners was prepared.

Daniel 1:8 - 21 is of the same tenor as the above-mentioned texts. They demonstrate the importance of food in forging political alliances and extending patronage at the king's table. They also show the importance of faithful, Jewish adherence to their kosher laws as a way to live in a distinctive way that would invite possibilities of holiness. Kosher living is a purgative element in the *via mystica* of Daniel, a discipline that demonstrates his faithfulness, which faithfulness garners God's favor.

Intention

Given that Daniel's audience finds itself in a life-and-death situation, they choose to demonstrate fidelity to God by observing their laws and traditions, the source of their identity as a people. Daniel 1:8 - 21 intends to resist. One sees what resistance in Daniel's context looks like. It is commitment to one's traditions; yet, it is also excellence in the public square controlled by empire. Daniel engages in the knowledge and benefits of imperial civilization; yet, he uses the tools of such knowledge to cast another vision of God as the imperial one. In Daniel, the conceptual language of empire is applied to God. God is the sovereign one, the imperial one, who is active in chaos not only to structure it but also to use it to break up some things in order to reconstitute them.

Postcolonial Application

Daniel 1 is a case study in cultural hybridity inasmuch as it illustrates how a subjugated people assert their humanity in the areas of life that Homi Bhabha calls the "third space" or "in-between" space.³⁹⁶ The so-called in-between space is the product of two cultures confronting each other. Their confrontation produces boundaries (quasi demilitarized zones) wherein an oppressed people might exert its humanity, forge an identity using the elements of the dominant culture together with their own cultural elements that they might deem essential to the process of building their identity. Identity is negotiated. Identity is never an apriori, hard and fast reality. There is a plasticity to identity. Forging an identity, creating one, is resistance. Hybridity is resistance. Hybridity as the epiphenomenon of third space engagement is the very hybridity that jettisons and overturns an oppressive, universal script. It does so in insidious ways. The new

³⁹⁶ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Rutledge, 1994), 1, 36.

appropriation of the self is in a dialogic relationship with the dominant culture and can emerge in any number of *fora*, including dual consciousness, music, dress, or, as in the case of Daniel 1, food and spiritual practices. As a member of a subjugated people, Daniel is forced into an arrangement of hybridity; he cannot avoid coming into contact with his oppressor. Yet, he will become excellent in the knowledge and ways of his oppressors; he will become adept in the advances and excellences of their culture. All the Third World postcolonial thinkers surveyed in chapter 2 of this work insisted that the colonized people to whom they spoke seek excellence in the knowledge and ways of empire. They all agreed that empire brought something valuable to the dialogic relationship. Empire benefits humanity, for it is humanity in social, political and economic intercourse. The subaltern can determine how far empire will go, as Daniel does in chapter 1. He can live with the dual consciousness of having two names and engaging in the sciences for the benefit of court life. He will not, however, allow the king's unkosher food to enter his body, for faithfulness to God is more incumbent on him than absolute faithfulness to the king. In chapter 1, Daniel negotiates his identity. He serves as a model for the *maskilim* to emulate how they can be faithful to their religion as a key source in the founding of their identity.

King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon besieged Jerusalem. According to the pious ideology of the author, it was God who gave Jerusalem over to the Babylonian king. There can be no fortuitous events in a moral universe headed by *YHWH*. Not only did the conquering king cart off luxury items from the Temple, but also people. Outstanding men from the royal families of Judah were taken from their land to Babylonia where they learned the wisdom of the Babylonians. They appropriated Babylonian culture, from ideas to food. Their names were changed to comport with the wholesale appropriation of new identities away from home. Daniel

and his companions lost everything and maybe even their sexual organs, as men working closely to a king in ancient Near East courts were made into eunuchs, as was the chief of the eunuchs who oversaw Daniel and his companions' transition to court life. Daniel was forced to appropriate Babylonian culture, but that appropriation did not occur in a vacuum. He retained vestiges of his native culture. There in his third space he brought together various and divers of cultural elements to negotiate an identity. The third space engagement, the place where hybridity occurs, the place where he empowers himself, enriches himself, is the place where he resists. Daniel refused to eat the unkosher food of the king. He refused to defile himself with Babylonian cultural markers. This was a decision made in his third space, where he created his identity. He challenged his overseer to allow him to eat vegetables and drink water. His overseer acceded to his 10-day test. 10 days are hardly enough time to effect a bodily change. The ten-day stipulation was meant to suggest a spiritual test.³⁹⁷ After ten days, the countenance of Daniel and his colleagues was brilliant and healthy.

According to Bill Ashcroft, hybridity is a struggle to free oneself from a past which stresses ancestry.³⁹⁸ This may be the product of someone's third space engagement. Indeed some oppressed people do wish to run from traditions and images of themselves tainted by colonialism. This, however, is not normative for hybridity in third space engagement. Hybridity does not shun what is normative. Quite the contrary, Daniel's third space engagement impelled him to embrace the traditions of his people. He tries to hold onto them in a foreign land. Yet, according to Anathea Portier-Young, tradition is not something that is merely received or

³⁹⁷ Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Dilella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday and Company: 1978), 130.

³⁹⁸ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Postcolonial Literature*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2002), 11. In this work Ashcroft identifies what spawned postcolonial theory: it was the West's failure to understand the writings of subjugated peoples in the Third World.

inherited. A tradition's significance for a people is renegotiated in the present. The past is invented as a resource for identity formation in the present. This is part of the dialogic process of hybridity. Daniel is engaged in a dialogic process with the past and the present, as he reappropriates tradition to create his identity in the diaspora.³⁹⁹ This ongoing process of redefining tradition is embedded in the larger context of the hybridization of Greek culture and Jewish culture in Daniel's time. There was no such thing as a pure Jewish culture existing in unique particularity. Nevertheless, for the writer of Daniel in the second century B.C.E., Hellenism was a trope of imperial power that threatened him and his Jewish community. In the face of the perceived threat of Hellenism, Daniel and his fellow *maskilim* remained faithful to their ancient traditions and worship of *YHWH*.⁴⁰⁰

In his work *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters*, R.S. Sugirtharajah posits what he calls the “three streams of postcoloniality.”⁴⁰¹ The first stream conveys the idea of invasion and control. The second stream is an attempt to recover the “cultural soul.”⁴⁰² In this phase, subjugated peoples try to recapture some semblance of the soul as a people which had been debased by the imperial power. A hermeneutic of suspicion becomes necessary during this phase, as subjugated peoples expose the duplicity of imperial power and the emptiness of its claim to preeminence. The final stream stresses mutual interdependence and transformation.⁴⁰³ In the final phase, the emphasis is on an identity “based on the intertwined histories of the colonizer and the colonized.”⁴⁰⁴ According to Sugirtharajah,

³⁹⁹ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2011), 111.

⁴⁰⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 114.

⁴⁰¹ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 248.

⁴⁰² Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 248.

⁴⁰³ Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 248.

⁴⁰⁴ Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 248.

hybridity wants to go beyond the modern notion of assimilation of the marginalized to form one monolithic people who have forgotten their historic pain.⁴⁰⁵ Hybridity is about the interstices of life wherein the marginalized forge their identity in the context where one is equally “committed to and disturbed by the colonized and the colonizing culture.”⁴⁰⁶

5.2 Fasting Texts: Daniel 9:1 - 3, Daniel 10:1 - 5

The second element of the purgative phase of Daniel’s *via mystica* is fasting. Daniel uses fasting for two different reasons. In Daniel 9:1 - 3, fasting serves as a cleansing from sin, coupled with an honest confession of both individual and corporate sin. After fasting, the angel Gabriel appears to him to give him enlightenment. In Daniel 10:1 - 5, Daniel also fasts in order to get enlightenment. In both cases, what occasions the fasts is Daniel’s troubled spirit. It is eased only after the fast that yields a communication from God.

5.2.1 Daniel 9:1 - 3

בשנה אחת לדריווש בן-אחשוּרֹושׁ מִזְרָע מַדִּי אֲשֶׁר הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל מִלְכּוֹת כָּשָׂדִים :² **בשנה אחת למלכו אני נגאל בינת ב ספרים מספר הימים אשר היה דבר יהוה אל ירמיה הנביא למלאות לחרבות ירושלם שבעים שנה :**³ **ואחתה אתפניא אל-אדני האללים לבקש תפלה ותchnינם בזום ושק ואפר :**
Dan. 9:1

Translation

- 1) In the first year of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, by descent a Mede, who was king over the Chaldeans.

⁴⁰⁵ Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 248.

⁴⁰⁶ Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World*, 248.

- 2) In the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, discerned in the books the number of years for the completion of the desolations of Jerusalem: seventy years, which was the word of God to the prophet Jeremiah.
- 3) I gave my face to the Lord God, seeking through prayer and supplications with fasting, sackcloth and ashes.

Structural Analysis

THE INTERPRETATION OF JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY, DANIEL 9:1 - 27

I. Introduction: vv. 1 - 2

- A. Date: the 1st year of Darius: v. 1
- B. Setting: reading Jeremiah's prophecy: v. 2

II. Daniel's Prayer: vv. 3 - 19

- A. Daniel's preparation for prayer: v. 3

Something in Daniel's reading of the prophet Jeremiah disturbed him. He is impelled to pray with intensity. The intensity is borne out by how he prayed: he prayed with fasting, sackcloth and ashes, the traditional expressions in the Hebrew Bible for mourning, penitence and importunity of prayer. Jacob tore his clothes and donned sackcloth upon hearing of the death of Joseph, his favorite son. When the child born to Bathsheba was on the precipice of life and death, David prayed, buttressing his prayer with fasting. And, the prophet Joel calls on his audience to repent with fasting and weeping. This example of fasting in Daniel is catalyzed by emotional distress. Perhaps there is emotional distress over the validity of the word of God to

Jeremiah. He did not understand it. He needed a revelation. According to Hartman and Di Lella, the Hebrew word **וְיִגְשָׁפֵעַ** has the older technical meaning of seeking an oracle.⁴⁰⁷ As the word of God had become his people's anchor in the absence of the Temple, it has to be trustworthy. In the background of Daniel in Babylonian captivity is the author for whom the trustworthiness of scriptures is a major issue, especially amid crises involving the Temple, the center of their communal life. Since the destruction of Solomon's Temple, the Jewish people had begun to live without the Temple in exile. Ezekiel harkened to the substantial Temple in heaven, to which they had access outside Jerusalem. Though the Temple was important to them, the Jewish people were evolving their religion beyond it. The inhabitants at Qumran were in the process of doing that. The anthropological factor hovering over the structural analysis is whether scriptures can be trusted. The stress over that issue is exemplified by the fast.

Genre

According to André Lacocque, Daniel 9 initiates a literary genre that would grow in importance in Judaism, namely pesher or midrash.⁴⁰⁸ Daniel seeks guidance from God to understand Jeremiah anew in a different situation. The Jeremiah passage to which Daniel refers could be Jeremiah 29:10: "For thus says the Lord: when 70 years are completed for Babylon, I will visit you, and I will fulfill to you my promise and bring you back to this place." Or, the passage on which Daniel does a misdrashic treatment could be Jeremiah 25:11-12: "This whole land shall become a ruin and a waste, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon 70 years. Then after the 70 years are completed, I shall punish the king of Babylon and that nation, the land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity, declares the Lord, making the land an everlasting

⁴⁰⁷ Hartmann and Dilella, *Daniel*, 241.

⁴⁰⁸ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 177.

waste.” Or, the author of Daniel could have both passages in mind. The 70 years are completed with the ascendancy of the Persians. The angel Gabriel gives Daniel a new prophecy. Inasmuch as Jeremiah’s prophecy was fulfilled, through the angel Gabriel God gives Daniel a new prophecy in the form of the 70 weeks of years, a timeline which commences with the rebuilding of the Temple to its wholesale defilement in the 2nd century B.C.E. The genre of the 70 weeks prophecy is *vaticinium post eventum*. It is prophecy after the fact. The events delineated in the 70 weeks prophecy are known to the author. The author uses *ex eventu* prophecy to give the 70 weeks prophecy divine sanction and by extension the whole work. Moreover, he theologically contextualizes the events in the sovereignty of God. The events are not fortuitous; they are known by God. The subjugated must know that things work according to God’s timing and plan. The authority and relevance of scriptures are that they can speak to God’s timing and plan. They speak beyond their original contexts. In this sense they become canonical for a community. Qumran would use the genre of pesher and midrash extensively in its pesher works on the prophets.

Setting

The narrative setting is post-exilic. Narrative as a creative endeavor is less concerned with actual fact; it is more concerned with the interpretation of facts. Accordingly, narrativity plays loose with the facts: there was no Darius the Mede. The historical setting behind the work is the mid-second century B.C.E. For the author and the *maskilim*, the scriptures have become a ballast against the conflicting emotions spawned by the crisis precipitated by Antiochus IV. Hence, scripture must be trustworthy. They must speak to them where they are. Jeremiah’s

prophecy is perceived to have been fulfilled with the ascendancy of Darius the Mede. 70 weeks of years are now set in motion toward the eschaton in his own times.⁴⁰⁹

Intention

What disturbs Daniel in the aftermath of the completion of Jeremiah's prophecy is that there is not a word for the present. Have the voices of the prophets gone silent? God speaks in a new way. To hear God's voice anew one must prepare oneself through a mystical infrastructure that includes fasting. Fasting is necessary for the emptying of oneself to be filled by God with revelation, illumination and enlightenment. Daniel fasts; God reveals. The prophets practiced purgation; the prophets fasted. In 1 Kings 19, the prophet Elijah flees Jezebel after embarrassing her prophets of Baal in a contest of miracles. The prophets of Baal failed; God heard Elijah and answered his prayer on Mount Carmel. Jezebel vowed to murder Elijah; so, he fled. After fleeing, he got so depressed that he wanted to die. He asked God to take his life. God comforted him by feeding him. He got up. And, on the strength of that feeding, he fasted 40 days as he took a spiritual journey to Mount Horeb. The spiritual practices of the prophets and the consequences of those practices in illumination, revelation and empowerment were available to Daniel and his circle of *maskilim*. God still speaks; God speaks to the mystic.

5.2.2 Daniel 10:1 – 5

בָשְׁנַת שְׁלֹשׁ לְכֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרָס דִּבֶּר נְגַלָּה לְדָנִיאֵל אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא
שָׁמוֹ בְּלֶטְשָׁאָצָר וְאֶמְתָּה הַדָּבָר וְצָבָא גָּדוֹל וּבֵין אֶת־הַדָּבָר וּבֵין הַלּוּ
בְּמִראָה : ² בִּימִם הָהִם אֲנִי דָנִיאֵל הִיִּתִי מִתְאַבֵּל שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁבָעִים יְמִים :
³ לְחַם חִמְדֹות לֹא אָכְלָה וְבָשָׂר וְיֵין לֹא־בָא אֶל־פִּי וְסֹזֶד לֹא־סְכָה עַד־
מְלֹאת שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁבָעִים יְמִים : ⁴ פְּוֹבִים עֲשָׂרִים וְאֶרְבָּעָה לְתַחַת הַר אַשְׁׁוֹן

⁴⁰⁹ Lacocque, *Daniel*, 178.

וְאֵن הָיָה עַל יָד חֶנְדָּר תְּגִזּוֹל הוּא חֶקְלָל : ⁵ וְאֲשֶׁר אָתָּה־עִינִּי וְאֶרְאָ
וְהַנֶּה אִישׁ־אֶחָד לְבָוֵשׁ בְּקִים וּמְתַנְיוֹ חֲגָרִים בְּכֶתֶם אַוְפָז :

Translation

- 1) In the third year of Cyrus, king of the Persians, the word was revealed to Daniel whose name was Belteshazzar. The word was true; it was a great distress. He understood the word and the vision was understandable to him.
- 2) In those days, I Daniel was mourning for three weeks.
- 3) I ate no delicacies and meat and wine did not enter my mouth; I certainly did not anoint for three weeks.
- 4) On the twenty-fourth day of the first month, I was at the bank of the great river, the Tigress.
- 5) I lifted my eyes and behold I saw a man clothed in linen, his waist girded with gold of Uphaz.

Structural Analysis

DANIEL'S VISION OF A MAN, DANIEL 10:1 - 21

I. Introduction: v. 1

- A. Date: Third year of King Cyrus: v. 1a
- B. Revelation of word to Daniel: v. 1b
- C. The qualities of the word: v. 1c
- D. Daniel understood the word and vision: v. 1d

II. The Appearance of a Man: vv. 2 - 10

A. Daniel's disposition at the time of the appearance: vv. 2 – 3

1. Daniel was mourning: v. 2
2. Daniel fasted luxuries: v.3

B. Daniel at the Great River: vv. 4 – 10

1. On the 24th day of the first month, Daniel stands at the bank of the river: v. 4
2. Daniel sees a man clothed in linen, a belt of gold around his waist: v. 5

The narrator introduces the text by denoting the third year of the reign of Cyrus when the word came to Daniel. The word came coupled with a vision. The voice switches from the narrator to Daniel, who says that he was in mourning. The reason for the mourning is not stated, though the incongruity between the word and reality causes people who take God seriously to mourn. The fact Daniel mourns shows he is sensitive to the reality of what his people is going through. The mourning causes him to fast the delicacies of court life. He fasts for clarity and enlightenment.

Genre

The foundational genre of chapters 7 - 12 of the Book of Daniel is apocalypse. Communication with heavenly figures is a motif of apocalypse. A man appears to Daniel on the occasion of his fasting and mourning. Though he is labeled a man, he functions like an angel. The genre is angelic discourse. He has a revelation to give to Daniel concerning the end days. The man is dressed like a priest in the white linen garb. He harkens back to the vision of the Son of Adam in chapter 7, where I shall argue that the Son of Adam is the decolonized high priest. He is Daniel's transcendent self before God. The man serves a revelatory function, revealing the

end time. He also serves an illuminative purpose, revealing to Daniel his true self.

Apocalypticism is illuminative; it is not merely eschatological.

Setting

The literary setting is the third year of the reign of the Persian King Cyrus. The actual historical setting is the 2nd century B.C.E. The crisis demands a clear and powerful revelation from God that comes on the heels of spiritual preparation, such that Daniel performs.

Intention

The text conveys to the readers the mystical possibilities that get opened up when they fast and when they lament. They are thereby encouraged to be faithful in these practices. By fasting and controlling their bodies, they exert power over themselves. Fasting and mourning reveal that they belong to themselves in their physicality and of their own volition they can place their bodies in the space where God might communicate with them. The intention of the text is to encourage the hearers to faithfulness in their spiritual practices. They can expect to experience an “open heaven.”

Postcolonial Application

Postcolonial mysticism is a mysticism that resists and decolonizes. There is a place that the colonizer cannot darken: it is the heart. A heart informed by the liberating power of God through an exposure to one’s transcendent self transcends the quotidian aspects of one’s self. Transcendence does not mean flight from reality, but the freedom to engage reality with a fuller version of oneself. The most mundane things about oneself can occasion resistance, from singing to the clothes one wears and the food one eats or not eats. Choosing not to eat, to fast, is a powerful weapon of resistance. It is a most fundamental exertion of one’s volitional capability

over one's own life. Through a fast Mahatma Gandhi resisted the British *Raj*, protesting the diminution of Indian political power through the separation of the Indian people into voting castes. While seated in the Birmingham jail, Martin Luther King fasted to get the world's attention, but especially to demonstrate to his racist jailers they did not have ultimate power over what he did with his body. As hybridity is resistance, so is fasting. Fasting says that one owns oneself. Fasting limits the reach and scope of imperial hubris, for through fasting the mystic and religionist alike engages his/her body in their third space existence in such a way to assert their power of self-determination. They also open themselves up to possibilities of hearing from God through visions, epiphanies and illumination. Fasting appears to focus the practitioner to pay attention to voices other than the ones that scream limitless consumption.

5.3 Prayer Texts: Daniel 2:17 – 23; Daniel 9: 4 – 19

Prayer is a purgative element because it is what people do to receive illumination and guidance from God. Daniel faced Jerusalem, got on his knees, and prayed to God with praise and thanksgiving as he was wont to do every day, three times a day according to Daniel 6:10. In these texts we hear the content of Daniel's prayer. Also, these prayers readied Daniel to receive illumination about certain exigent circumstances. The author goes out of his way to tie Daniel's spiritual practice with some kind of response from God. Prayer is not a quid pro quo, however. Like living kosher, prayer is a daily feature of the mystic's life. It is a purgative element inasmuch as it is a part of the mystic's spiritual infrastructure, his/her *via mystica*.

אֲדִין הַנְּיָאֵל לְבִיתָה אֹזֶל וְלַחֲנִינָה מִישָׁאֵל וְעֹזְרִיהָ חֶבְרוֹהִי מַלְתָּא
 הַוְּקָע : וְרַחֲמִין לְמַבָּעָא מִן־קָדְםָא לְאַלְהָ שְׁמִיא⁴¹⁰ עַל־רֹזֶה דְּנָה דִּי לָא
 יְהָבְדוֹן הַנְּיָאֵל וְחֶבְרוֹהִי עַמְּשָׁאֵר חַפִּימִי בְּבָל : ¹⁹ אֲדִין לְדַנְיָאֵל בְּחַזְוָא
 רַיְלְילִיאֵרָזֶה גָּלִי אֲדִין הַנְּיָאֵל בְּרַךְ לְאַלְהָ שְׁמִיא : ²⁰ עַנְהָ דַנְיָאֵל וְאָמֵר
 לְהָוָא שְׁמָה דִּי־אַלְהָא מְבָרֵךְ מִן־עַלְמָא וְעַד־עַלְמָא דִּי חַכְמָתָא
 וְגַבְיוֹרָתָא דִּי לְהָהִיא : ²¹ וְהָוָא מְהַשְּׁנָא עַדְנִיא וְזַמְנִיא מְהֻעָגָה מַלְכִין
 וְמַהְקִים מַלְכִין יְהָבָח חַכְמָתָא לְחַכִּימִין וְמַנְדָעָא לְיִדְעָי בִּינָה : ²² הַזָּא גָּלָא
 עַמְיקָה וְמַסְתָּרָה יְדָעָ מה בְּחַשּׁוֹבָא וְנַהֲירָא [ו][גַהְוָר][א] עַמָּה
 שְׁרָא⁴¹¹ : ²³ לְךָ וְאַלְהָ אֶבְהָתִי מְהֹודָא וְמִשְׁבָּח אֲנָה דִּי חַכְמָתָא וְגַבְיוֹרָתָא
 יְהָבָתָא לִי וְכַעַן הַוְּדַעַתָּנוּ דִּי־בְּעִינָא מִפְךְ דִּי־מֶלֶךְ אַהֲדָעָתָא :

Translation

17) Then Daniel went to his house. He made the matter known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his companions;

18) To seek mercy from the God of heaven concerning the mystery, that Daniel and his not be destroyed with the rest of the sages of Babylon.

19) Then the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night. Then Daniel

⁴¹⁰ LXX has κυρίου τοῦ ύψιστον; Θ translates the Aramaic literally: Θεού του ουρανού. V follows Θ: *Dei caeli.*

⁴¹¹ Ιδְעַנָּה בְּחַשּׁוֹבָא וְנַהֲירָא [ו][גַהְוָר][א] עַמָּה שְׁרָא: A literal rendering of the Aramaic would be: “God knows what is in darkness and the light shining with God is loosening.” I rendered this phrase in a mystical tone that would make a gnostic happy: “God knows what is in darkness and the light beaming in God emanates from God.” 4QDan^a agrees with MT. LXX renders the phrase: γινώσκων τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ φωτί: “God knowing the things in the darkness and the things in light.” LXX misses the mystical, energetic movement of the Aramaic. Θ translates it: γινώσκων τα εν τω σκοτει και το φως μετ' αυτου εστιν: “God knowing the things in darkness and the light is with God.” Though often translating M literally, here Θ fails to do so. Θ misses the mystical energy of God as emanating light. V renders the Aramaic phrase like Θ: *novit in tenebris constituta et lux cum eo est:* “God knows the things constituted in (by) darkness and the light is with God.” This is also a weak translation.

Blessed the God of heaven.

20) Daniel answered and said: “Blessed be the name of God forever and ever, to whom Belong wisdom and might.

21) God changes the times and seasons, establishes and deposes kingdoms, gives wisdom to the sages and knowledge to those have understanding;

22) Who reveals deep hidden things; God knows what is in darkness and light emanates from God.

23) I praise and thank you God of my fathers, for you have given me wisdom and power. Now you have informed me about what we ask of you, for you have made known the king’s matter.

Structural Analysis

NEBUCHANEZZAR’S DREAM, DANIEL 2:1 - 49

I. Report of Daniel’s Intervention: vv. 13 - 23

A. Report of God’s revelation to Daniel: vv. 17 - 23

1. Daniel went to his house after hearing the report of the king’s Dream and the sages’ inability to repeat the dream to the king and interpret it under the threat of death: v. 17a
2. Daniel reported the matter to his companions: v. 17b
3. Daniel’s instruction to pray: v. 18

B. Report that the mystery was revealed to Daniel: v. 19

1. The mystery was revealed to Daniel in a vision of the night: v. 19a
2. In response, Daniel blessed God: v. 19b

C. The Doxological Prayer: vv. 20 – 23

1. Benediction: v. 20a
2. Confession of God's wisdom and might: v. 20b
3. Illustrations of God's wisdom and might: vv. 21 – 22
 - a. Control of seasons and times: v. 21a
 - b. Power over kings: v. 21b
 - c. The granting of wisdom and knowledge: vv. 21c, 21d
 - d. Illumination of mysteries: v. 22a
 - e. Knowledge of darkness: v. 22b
 - f. God is associated with light: v. 22c
4. Act of praise and thanksgiving: v. 23
 - a. Declaration: v. 23a
 - b. General reason for praise and thanksgiving: v. 23b
 - c. Specific reason for praise and thanksgiving: illumination of the king's dream: v. 23c

This doxological prayer occurs in the overall context of the Nebuchadnezzar's dream which disturbed him and his whole court. A stringent test is proposed to the sages; they had to repeat the dream to him and interpret it. It is an exacting standard that no sage can meet, unless that sage were illuminated by God. After hearing from Arioch, the king's captain, and the peril in which he and the sages faced, Daniel returns home. Daniel is confident. He moves with alacrity. He is a natural leader. He proposes that he and companions pray. Illumination comes as a consequence of prayer: not only is the actual dream revealed to Daniel, he also receives the interpretation. The author is selling the importance of prayer, the importance of remaining faithful to spiritual practices. Such spiritual practices are the power not only to resist; they are also the way to enlightenment. With such enlightenment, one is able to reconfigure one's

identity and especially decolonize one's psyche from the repressive script of the oppressor. In the text, the narrator speaks and Daniel speaks.

Genre

The genre of the overall chapter is court legend. One gets a glimpse into the machinations of Nebuchadnezzar's court. One sees that it is frivolous and satirical. Yet, the motif of one of a lower status rising to great heights comes through. Daniel's renown will be further substantiated after revealing the king's dream and interpreting it. He will do so after having been illuminated by God through prayer. The prayer will invite God into his psyche. God will communicate at God's behest, which occurs in a vision of the night. Vision of the night conveys the idea that the revelation is solely from God, not Daniel.

Setting

The narrative setting is the Babylonian court of Nebuchadnezzar, which is not commensurate with the established history. The dating of the second year of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter 2 conflicts with Nebuchadnezzar's date in chapter 1. The second year of Nebuchadnezzar would be prior to the exile. Historiography as narrative art does something creative with the facts. What is important to historiography is the meaning of the event, the meaning of the event to those recalling it and casting it in narrative form to instruct and guide. The Babylonian court is the place holder for the requisite attitude and spiritual practices of the faithful. Because Daniel was faithful to his practice, his *via mystica*, so too those facing the crisis of Antiochus IV in the second century should be faithful to theirs as well.

The *Sitz in der Literatur* is the other court stories in the Hebrew Bible: Joseph in the Egyptian court; Esther in the Persian court; and the ancient Near East story of Ahiqar. All these

stories are unified under the motif of the protagonist rising from nothing to great heights. In all cases, the great heights brought new challenges to their personhood and existence. After reaching a semblance of prosperity, they found themselves on the precipice between life and death.

Intention

The section establishes the sovereignty of God. God is sovereign to reward those who are faithful to their traditions. Daniel outpaces the Babylonian sages not through some inherent quality in himself; he does so because he is faithful to God. He opens himself up to God through his practice. Both Daniel and God show *hesed*.

Postcolonial Application

After hearing the looming crisis from the Arioch, Daniel returns to his third space, his lived space. He meets his colleagues in that space. The first space of the perceived world is intimidating; it is uncontrollable; it does not belong to them totally, though they live and work in it. The second space of the conceived world of ideology is not theirs either, though it affects them in profound ways. Both worlds, first and second spaces, are living and vibrant spaces, affecting all with whom they come into contact. There is no escaping Nebuchadnezzar's physical space and his intellectual space in the form of his political ideology. The third space, however, belongs to Daniel and his companions. There they negotiate their identities through the vestiges of tradition; there they reconfigure themselves daily or as often as they have access to their third space. The contours of their third space are mystical. Mystical approaches to Nebuchadnezzar's capricious pronouncements inform their third space engagement. As subalterns, they pray in their third space; they cry in it; they laugh in it, and they laugh at power

in it. The oppressed need both seriousness and laughter in the face of oppressive political powers. God is bigger than they are. The subalterns who choose religion have access to a greater, divine, sovereign power that empowers them to smirk at the emperor. Daniel and his companions pray. Their prayer opens them up to mystical possibilities of revelation, illumination and enlightenment.

5.3.2 Daniel 9:4 – 19

וְאַתָּה פָּלֹלָה לִיהְנוֹה אֱלֹהֵי וְאַתָּה תֹּהֶדְךָ וְאַמְרָה אֲנָא אֶלְנִי הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל
 וְהַנּוֹרָא שָׁמַר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֲסֵד לְאֶחָבוֹ וְלִשְׁמַרְיִ מִצְוֹתָיו : ⁵ חָטָאנוּ וְעָוֹנוּ
 וְהַרְשָׁעָנוּ [חַרְשָׁעָנוּ] וְמְרַדָּנוּ וְסֹור מִמְצֹותָךְ וּמִמְשֻׁפְטִיךְ : ⁶ וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ
 אֶל־עֲבֹדֵיךְ הַגְּבִיאִים אֲשֶׁר דָּבַרְתָּ בְּשֶׁמֶךְ אֶל־מֶלֶכִינוּ שְׂרִינוּ וְאַבְתִּינוּ וְאֶל
 כָּל־עַם הָאָרֶץ : ⁷ לֹךְ אֶלְנִי הַצְּדָקָה וְלֹנוּ בְּשַׁת הַפְּנִים כִּיּוֹם הַזֶּה לֹאִישׁ
 יְהוָה וְלֹי יוֹשֵׁבָי יְרוֹשָׁלָם וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הַקָּרְבָּןִים וְהַרְחָקִים בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ
 אֲשֶׁר הַדְּחַתָּם שָׁם בְּמַעַלָּם אֲשֶׁר מַעֲלִי־בָּךְ : ⁸ יְהֹוָה לֹנוּ בְּשַׁת הַפְּנִים
 לְמֶלֶכִינוּ לְשְׂרִינוּ וְלְאַבְתִּינוּ אֲשֶׁר חָטָאנוּ לְךָ : ⁹ לְאֶלְנִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַרְחָקִים
 וְהַסְּלָחוֹת כִּי מְרַדָּנוּ בָּו : ¹⁰ וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ בְּקוֹל יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְלִכְתָּה
 בְּתֹולָתְךָ אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְפָנֵינוּ בַּיּוֹם עֲבֹדֵיךְ הַגְּבִיאִים : ¹¹ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְרָוּ
 אֶת־פָּרָתָךְ וְסֹור לְבָלָתָךְ שְׁמֹועָ בְּקָלָךְ וְתַתְּפַקֵּד עַלְלֵינוּ הָאֱלֹהָה וְהַשְׁבָּעָה אֲשֶׁר
 כְּתוּבָה בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עַבְדֵה הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי חָטָאנוּ לוּ : ¹² וַיַּקְרֵם אֶת־דָּבְרֵינוּ
 [דָּבָרְוּ] אֲשֶׁר־דָּבַר עַלְלֵינוּ וְעַל שְׁפָטֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר שְׁפָטָנוּ לְהַבְיאָ עַלְלֵינוּ רַעָה
 גְּדָלָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־גַּעֲשָׂתָה הַתָּחֶת כָּל־הַשָּׁמִים כִּאֲשֶׁר גַּעֲשָׂתָה בַּיְרֹוֹשָׁלָם : ¹³
 כִּאֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה אֶת כָּל־הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת בְּאֶה עַלְלֵינוּ וְלֹא־חֲלֵינוּ
 אֶת־פָּנִי יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְשׁוֹבֵם עַזְנֵנוּ וְלַהֲשִׁכֵּל בְּאַמְתָּה : ¹⁴ וַיִּשְׁקַד יְהֹוָה
 עַל־הַרְשָׁה וְיִבְיאָה עַלְלֵינוּ כִּי־צְדִיק יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ עַל־כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂינוּ אֲשֶׁר
 עָשָׂה וְלֹא שָׁמַעְנוּ בְּקָלוּ : ¹⁵ וְעַתָּה אֶלְנִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר הַזָּאת אֶת־עַמְךָ
 מִאָרֶץ מִצְרָיִם בַּיּוֹם חַזְקָה וְתַעֲשֶׂלֶךְ לֹךְ שָׁם כִּיּוֹם הַזֶּה חָטָאנוּ רַשְׁעָנוּ : ¹⁶
 אֶלְנִי כָּכָל־צְדָקָתְךָ יִשְׁבְּנָא אֶפְךָ וְחַמְתָּךָ מַעֲירָךָ יְרוֹשָׁלָם הַר־קָרְשָׁךָ כִּי

בְּחַטָּאֵינוּ וּבְעֹנוֹת אֲבָתֵינוּ יְרוֹשָׁלָם וְעַמָּךְ לְחֶרֶבְּ לְכָל-סִבְיבָתֵינוּ :¹⁷
 וְעַפְתָּה וּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶל-תְּפִלָּת עֲבָדֶךָ וְאֶל-תְּחִנּוּנֵינוּ וְהַאֲרֵ פְּנֵיךְ עַל-
 מִקְדָּשֶׁךְ הַשָּׂמָמָם לְמַעַן אֲדֹנֵי :¹⁸ הַטָּה אֱלֹהֵי אָזְנָה וּשְׁמַע פְּקָדָה [פְּקָדָה]
 עִינֵיךְ וּרְאֵה שְׁמָמָתֵינוּ וְהַעֲרֵ אָשָׁר-נִקְרָא שְׁמֵךְ עַלְיָה כִּי | לֹא עַל-
 צְדָקָתֵינוּ אֲנַחֲנָנוּ מִפְּיָלִים תְּחִנּוּנֵינוּ לִפְנֵיךְ כִּי עַל-דְּחִמְיוֹד הַרְבִּים :¹⁹ אֲדֹנֵי
 | שְׁמַעַה אֲדֹנֵי | סְלִיחָה אֲדֹנֵי הַקְשִׁיבָה וְעַשָּׂה אֶל-תְּאַחֲרָה לְמַעַן אֱלֹהֵי
 כִּי-שְׁמֵךְ נִקְרָא עַל-עִירֵךְ וּעַל-עַמָּךְ :

Translation

4) I prayed to the Lord my God and I confessed saying, “Ah, now, my Lord, great and fearsome God, who keeps covenant and faithfulness with those who love God and keep God’s commandments.

5) We have sinned, done wrong and acted wickedly and rebelled, turning away from your commandments and rules.

6) We have not listened to your servants, the prophets, who spoke in your name to our kings, our princes and our fathers: to all the people in the land.

7) To you, Lord, is righteousness, but to us barefaced shame as at this day, to the men of Judah, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to all Israel, those near and those far in all the lands to which you have driven them because they betrayed you.

8) God, to us belongs bare-faced shame, to our kings, princes and to our fathers who sinned against you.

9) For to the Lord our God is mercy and forgiveness, because we have rebelled against you.

10) We have not listened to the voice of the Lord our God to walk in God's law which God gave to us by the hand of the prophets.

11) All Israel transgressed against your law and turned aside, not heeding your voice and poured forth on us the oath and curse which is written in the law of Moses, the servant of the Lord, because we have sinned against God.

12) God established God's word which God spoke against us and against our judges who judge us, to bring upon us the great calamity, which has never occurred under the heavens like what was done in Jerusalem.

13) As was written in the law of Moses, all this calamity has come upon us, but we have not entreated the face of the Lord our God, to turn from our iniquities and gaining insight by your truth.

14) God has kept watch concerning the calamity and has brought it on us because the Lord our God is righteous relative to all the work which God has done. We have not listened to God's voice.

15) Now, Lord our God, you who have brought your people from the land of the Egyptians by a mighty hand and made for yourself a name, as at the day that we have sinned and done evil.

16) O Lord, according to all your righteous acts, relent your anger and your wrath from the city of Jerusalem, your holy mountain, because of our sins and because of the iniquity of our fathers, Jerusalem and your people have become as offense our neighbors.

17) Listen, now, to the prayer of your servant and to his pleas for the sake of the

Lord. Let your face shine on your sanctuary which is in desolation.

18) Lord, incline your ear and hear. Open your eyes and see our desolations: your which is called by your name. Not for the sake of our righteousness do we present our petitions before your face, but because of your great mercy.

19) Lord, hear; Lord, forgive. Lord, listen and act. Do not delay, for your own sake, my God, because of your city and your people who are called by your name.

Structural Analysis

DANIEL'S DEUTERONOMIC PRAYER ANSWERED, DANIEL 9:1 - 27

I. After Spiritual Preparation, Daniel Prays: vv. 4 - 19

A. Opening address of the prayer: v. 4

1. Daniel began his prayer by making a confession: v. 4a
2. What Daniel confesses about God: v.4b
 - a. God is great and awesome: v.4b
 - b. God keeps covenant: v.4b
 - c. God keeps steadfast love: v. 4b
 - d. God shows love to those who keep God's commandment: v. 4b
3. What Daniel confesses about God's covenant partners: vv. 5, 6
 - a. They have sinned: v. 5a
 - b. They have done wrongly: v. 5b
 - c. They have acted wickedly: v.5c
 - d. They have rebelled: v. 5d
 - e. They have subverted God's commandments and rules: v. 5e
 - f. They have not listened to the prophets: v.6
 - α. The prophets spoke in God's name to their

leaders: v. 6b

β. The prophets spoke in God's name to their fathers: v. 6c

δ. The prophets spoke in God's name to all the people: v. 6d

4. Comparisons between the faithlessness of the covenant partners and the faithfulness of God: vv. 7 – 11a

a. To God belongs righteousness: v. 7a

b. To the covenant partners belong shame: v. 7b

c. Offenders identified: vv. 7b – 7d

α. Men of Judah, inhabitants of Jerusalem: v. 7b

β. All who are near in Israel: v. 7c

γ. All who are far in the diaspora: v. 7d

d. To the covenant partners belong shame: v. 8

e. To God belongs righteousness: v. 9

f. How the covenant partners have sinned: vv. 10a – 11a

α. They have not obeyed by walking in God's laws: v. 10a

β. The laws articulated by the prophets: v. 10b

γ. The covenant partners refused to heed the voice of the prophets: v. 11a

5. The Consequences of failure to be faithful covenant partners:
vv. 11b – 15

a. The oath and curse written in Moses extended to them: v. 11b

b. God confirmed God's word by bringing calamity: v. 12a

c. The uniqueness of the covenanted people's experience of wrath: v. 12b

d. Moses confirms that they experience calamity: v. 13a

e. What they failed to do amid the calamity: v. 13b

α. Entreat God: v. 13b

- β. Turn from their ways: v. 13b
- f. Insight as a consequence of repentance: v. 13b
- g. God stands ready to punish: v. 14
- h. An honest confession: v. 15
- 6. Daniel's final plea: vv. 16 – 19
 - a. The plea is grounded on God's acts: vv. 16 – 18
 - α. Daniel ask for God's anger to turn away: v. 16
 - β. Daniel asks that God listen to his plea for mercy: v. 17
 - γ. Daniel asks that God would incline God's ear to the desolations of God's city and people: v. 18
 - b. The plea is for God's name and reputation: v. 19
 - α. God's name and reputation associated with the city of Jerusalem: v. 19a
 - β. God's name and reputation associated with the covenanted people: v. 19b

The speaker in this text is Daniel. The mood is darker than the previous prayer. The spiritual preparation through fasting has occasioned an honest assessment of himself and his people. Mystical experiences are not all saccharine sweet. There are dark nights of the soul when God seems distant, where the mystic focuses on his/her private failings and the corporate failings of humanity. It is appropriate to balance the earlier prayer of thanksgiving with a darker prayer of repentance. At the end of this prayer there will be illumination like the earlier prayer. Illumination can occur when one approaches life with alacrity and joy; or, it can occur when there is melancholy over the past, for it is grounded in the sovereignty of God who gives such illumination at God's behest.

Genre

The prayer has affinity with Deuteronomistic theology and with other prayers, speech patterns and other perspectives informed by the Deuteronomist.⁴¹² It is a liturgical prayer from the era when Deuteronomistic ideas were current. It is the production of piety, as no responsibility is placed on God for the fate of the Jewish people losing their resources to empire. Deuteronomistic piety goes out of its way to protect God. Hence, all the blame is placed on God's covenanted people to remain faithful to the *Berit Olam*.

Setting

The narrative setting is the first year of Darius the Mede. As stated above, no such figure existed. The historical setting of the prayer and the whole chapter from which the prayer hails can be determined by the *ex eventu* prophecy. That prophecy is based on the disruption to the cultus caused by Antiochus IV in the mid-second century, which means the end 167 B.C.E. and the beginning of the 166 B.C.E.

The literary setting of the prayer is most ample, as Deuteronomistic thinking influenced many books of the Hebrew Bible. In 1 Kings 8:15 - 53, Solomon's prayer upon the completion of the First Temple is rife with Deuteronomic concepts. Like Daniel's prayer, it is cast in a liturgically-stilted form. Also, like Daniel, Solomon addresses God in lofty terms, who is faithful to God's covenant, though God's covenanted partners may fail God. In the Deuteronomistic scheme of things, God is magnified to infinite dimensions compared to humanity, which pales in comparison.

⁴¹² Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Germany: Gütersloh Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1965), 9.

The prophet Jeremiah, moreover, is influenced by Deuteronomy theology and the Deuteronomic *Weltanschauung*. In chapter 32 of his work he begins his prayer to God with the same exalted appellations of God as in Daniel's prayer in chapter 9 and Solomon's prayer at the dedication the First Temple. He goes through the typical litany of how God liberated God's people from slavery in Egypt and established them in their own land, a land flowing with milk and honey. Yet, in the characteristic, absolutist terms of the Deuteronomist, the people have been faithless: "They did nothing of all you commanded." As a consequence, calamity came upon the people. Ezra, Nehemiah and the Chronicler are susceptible to the same Deuteronomistic spirit.

Intention

The purpose of the 9th chapter of Daniel is to assure his audience that the difficult days are coming to an end. The Deuteronomistic prayer is followed by an illumination. The angel Gabriel enlightens Daniel about Jeremiah's prophecy. He repurposes it: 70 years become 70 weeks of years.

Postcolonial Application

Though at the center of Daniel 9 is a prayer that is a traditional Deuteronomistic, liturgical prayer that was current in the Second Temple era, it nevertheless is a product of Daniel third space engagement. It is one of the traditional pieces, together with other cultural elements, that he uses to forge an identity in his third space. Daniel is a hybridized person. Subalterns, moreover, seek to hold onto their traditions in the face of imperial encroachment onto their psyches. Though the Deuteronomistic prayer is monological, it ultimately gets counterbalanced by the apocalyptic genre. This traditional prayer and the apocalyptic genre will stand in a

contrapuntal relationship with each other. Daniel's third space will create a polyphony of hybridity among his monological traditions and other voices. The Deuteronomist faults the people for the loss of their land, culture and identity. Apocalyptic will posit that the loss must be placed in a bigger, cosmic horizon, where God is sovereign over all possibilities for all people. God controls the sea of possibilities, be those possibilities good, bad or ugly. A persecuted people want a big God, a sovereign God. Though Daniel has a big God to contextualize the exigencies of his life, he nevertheless takes seriously his mutually interdependent relationship with God. *Hesed* on the part of both Daniel and God catalyzes that mutually interdependent relationship, where Daniel's *via mystica* is reciprocated by God in illumination, epiphany, and revelation. Without that reciprocity, one would not do the hard work of purgation. God may not take Daniel and his people out of their existential crisis; God certainly empowers them to transcend it.

Chapter 6

THE ILLUMINATIVE TEXT

The illuminative text is Daniel 7:1 - 14. This text constitutes the second phase of Daniel's *via mystica*. Though Daniel received illumination in earlier contexts after purgative activity in the form of kosher living, fasting and prayer, Daniel 7:1 - 14 stands out as a special illumination, as it forms the centerpiece of the Book of Daniel. This text also initiates the apocalyptic section of Daniel's work. At the center of Daniel's apocalypse is a mystical core that distinguishes Jewish apocalyptic from classical, Jewish prophecy. This mystical core is on the continuum of the development of Jewish mysticism. This mystical core, moreover, is a resistance and a polemic against the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus IV and his Hellenistic, Jewish sympathizers. This mystical core, however, is not merely resistance; it is also decolonization. The presence of the son of Adam before the throne serves a decolonizing function. The true self is known in the presence of God. This mystical core is an epiphenomenon of Daniel's third space engagement.

Daniel 7:1-14

בָשְׁנַת חֲדָה⁴¹³ לִבְלָא שָׁצָר מֶלֶךְ בְּבָל⁴¹⁴ דָנִיאֵל חָלָם חֹזֶה וְחַזָּן רְאֵשָׁה
עַל-מִשְׁכְּבָה בְּאֶדְיוֹן חַלְמָא כְּתָב רְאֵשׁ מֶלֶין אָמָר: ² עֲנָה דָנִיאֵל וְאָמָר
³ חֹזֶה הָנוּת בְּחַזְוֵי עַמְּלִילִיא וְאַרוֹן אַרְבָּע רְוִיחַי שְׁמַיָּא מְנִיחַן לִימָא רְבָא:
וְאַרְבָּע חִינּוֹן רְבָרְבָּוֹן סְלָלוֹן מְזִימָא שְׁנַנְוֹן הָא מְזָהָא: ⁴ קְדֻמִּיתָא כְּאַרְבָּה-
וְגַפְיַן קְדִינְשָׁר לְהַחְזֹה הָנוּת עַד דִּימְרִיטַו גְּפִיה וְגַטְילַת מְזָאַרְעָא וְעַל-
רְגַלְיָן כְּאַנְשָׁהָה קְיִמְתָה וְלַבְבָּבָן יְתִיב לְהָה: ⁵ וְאַרוֹן חִזְוָה אַחֲרִי תְּנִינָה

⁴¹³ Θ has εν ετει πρωτω, “In the first year.” V follows Θ: *anno primo*.

⁴¹⁴ Θ χαλδαιων.

רְמֵנָה לְדָב וַלְשֶׁטֶר־חֶד הַקְמָת וַתְלַת עַל־עֵין בְּפִטָּה בֵין שְׁנִיה [שְׁנָה] וְכֹן
 אִמְרֵין לְה קְוֵמי אֲכָלִי בְשֶׁר שְׁנִיא⁴¹⁵ : ⁶ בַאֲתָר דְנָה חֻזָה חַווֹת וְאֶרוֹ אַחֲרִי
 כְּנָמָר וְלָה גַּפְיָן אֲרַבָּע דִי־עֹז עַל־גַּבְיָה [גַּבָּה] וְאֲרַבָּעָה רָאשֵׁין לְתַזְוָתָא
 וְשַׁלְטָן יַחַיָב לְה : ⁷ בַאֲתָר דְנָה חֻזָה חַווֹת בְּחַזְוַיָ לְיַלְיא וְאֶרוֹ חַווֹת
 רְבִיעִיה [רְבִיעָה] דְחִילָה וְאִימָתָנִי וְתַקִּיפָא וְתִירָא וְשְׁנִינִי דִי־פְּרִילָל לְה
 רְבָרְבָן אֲכָלָה וְמַהְקָה וְשַׁאֲרָא בְּרָגְלִיה [בָ] [רָגְלָה] רְפָסָה וְתִיא מְשִׁנָה
 מְזָכָל־חִזְתָא קִי קְדָמִיה וְקְרָנוֹן עָשָר לְה : ⁸ מְשַׁתְבֵל חַווֹת בְּקְרָנוֹא
 וְאֶלוֹ קְרָנו אֲחָרִי זְעִירָה סְלִקָת בְּגִיחָן [בְּגִיחָה] וַתְלַת מְזָקָרָנוֹא
 קְדָמִיתָא אֲתַעֲקָרוֹ [אֲתַעֲקָרָה] מְזָקָדָמִיה [קְדָמָה] וְאֶלוֹ עִינֵין כְּעִינֵי
 אֲנָשָא בְּקְרָנוֹא־דָא וּבָם מְמַלֵּל רְבָרְבָן : ⁹ חֻזָה חַווֹת עַד קִרְסָוָן רְמָיו
 וְעַפְיק יוֹמָין יַתָּב לְבָוּשָה אֲכָתָלָג חֹרֶד וְשַׁעַר רָאשָה כְעַמָּר נְקָא קְרָסִיָה
 שְׁבִיבָן דִי־נָור גְּלָגְלוֹהָי נָור דָלָק : ¹⁰ נָתָר דִי־נָור נְגָד וְנָפָק מְזָקָדָמוֹהָי
 אַלְפָים [אַלְפִין] יִשְׂמַשְׁוֹגָה וְרָבוֹ רְבָן [רְבָבָן] קְדָמָוֹהָי יְקָוָמָוֹן דִיְגָא
 יְהָב וְסְפָרִין פְּתִיחָה : ¹¹ חֻזָה חַווֹת בְּאַלְיָן מְזָקָל מְלִיאָה רְבָרְבָתָא קִי קְרָנוֹא
 מְמַלְלָה חֻזָה חַווֹת עַד דִי קְטִילָת חִזְתָא וְהַזְבָד גְּשָׁמָה וְיַהְיָתָה לְיִקְנָת
 אֲשָא : ¹² וְשַׁאֲרָל חִזְתָא הַעֲדָיו שְׁלַטְנָהָן וְאֲרָכָה בְּתִיְין יַחַיָת לְהָזָן עַד־
 זְמָן וְעַהָן : ¹³ חֻזָה חַווֹת בְּחַזְוַיָ לְיַלְיא וְאֶרוֹ עַם־עַנְנִי שְׁמָמָא כְּבָר אֲנָש אֲתָה
 חַווֹת וְעַד־עַפְיק יוֹמָא מְפָה וְקְדָמָוֹהָי הַקְּרָבָהָי : ¹⁴ וְלָה יַחַיָב שְׁלַטָן וְיִקְרָב
 וְמַלְבָדו וְכָל עַמְמָא אֲמָמָא וְלְשָׁנִיא לְה יְפָלָחָן שְׁלַטָה שְׁלַטָן עַלְם דִי־לָא
 יַעֲדָה וְמַלְכָוֹתָה דִי־לָא תַתְחַבֵּל : כ

⁴¹⁵ According to Louis Hartman (*The Book of Daniel*, 209), there is a transposition of phrases in the MT that makes for an awkward reading. The lion is referred to as “It was lifted from the earth and set on feet like a man.” This phrase reads better in reference to the bear. The phrase in reference to the bear, “And there were three ribs in its mouth between its teeth,” would read better relative to the carnivorous lion. But, there is no textual support for such a transposition.

Translation

1) In the first year of Belshazzar, king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream and visions of his head on his bed. He, then, wrote the dream, a complete account.

He said:

2) Daniel answered and said, “I saw in a night vision, and behold four winds of the heaven were stirring up the great sea,

3) And four great animals varying from each other were emerging from the sea.

4) The first was like a lion. It had wings like an eagle. I saw until its wings were torn out and it was lifted from the earth and set up on feet like a man.

And a human heart was given to it.

5) And, behold, a second animal resembling a bear; it was raised up on one side. There were three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. And thus they said to it, “Arise, eat much flesh.”

6) After this, I saw and, behold, another animal like a panther. It had four bird wings on its back. And the animal had four heads, and dominion was given to it.

7) After this I saw in night visions, and, behold, a fourth animal, frightening and frightful and very strong. It had big, iron teeth, eating and smashing and trampling on the remnant with its feet. And it was different from any of the animals that were before it. It had ten horns.

- 8) I looked at its horns and, behold, another small horn emerged from among them. Three of the first horns were uprooted from before it. And, behold, there were eyes like human eyes on this horn and a mouth speaking great things.
- 9) I saw until thrones were put in place, and one old of days sat, his dress white like snow and the hair of his head like pure wool. His throne was flames of fire, its wheels burning fire.
- 10) A river of fire was flowing out from before him. A thousand served him. And thousands upon thousands rose before him. The court sat in judgment and books were opened.
- 11) I, then, saw the sound of great words which the horn was speaking. I saw until the animal was killed and its body destroyed and given over to the burning fire.
- 12) And dominion was taken away from the rest of the animals. Length of life of life was given to them until a time and a season.
- 13) I saw in the night visions and, behold, one like the son of man was coming with the clouds of the sky. He reached the ancient of days, and they brought him near him.
- 14) And dominion was given to him, and glory and kingship and all the peoples, the nations and the languages served him. His dominion is an eternal dominion that will not pass. And, his kingdom will not be destroyed.

Structural Analysis

DANIEL'S VISION OF THE FOUR EMPIRES, Daniel 7:1 - 28

I. Introduction to the Vision: v. 1

- A. Putative historical setting: v. 1a
- B. The description of the mode of the vision: v. 1b
- C. Daniel writes down the vision: v. 1c

II. The Vision: vv. 2 - 14

- A. The four winds on the great sea: v. 2
- B. The emergence of the four beasts (empires) from the sea: vv. 3 - 8
 - 1. The first beast is a lion with eagle's wings: v. 4
 - 2. The second beast is a bear: v. 5
 - 3. The third beast is a panther (leopard): v. 6
 - 4. The fourth beast is a frightening, unnamed beast: vv. 7, 8
- C. The throne room of the Ancient of Days: vv. 9, 10
 - 1. The Ancient of Days (God) takes a seat: v. 9a
 - 2. God's clothing and visage are described: v. 9b
 - 3. Fire accompanies the throne room: v. 9c
 - 4. A stream flows from the throne: v. 10a
 - 5. Thousands serve God: v. 10b
 - 6. The court sat in judgment; books were opened: v. 10c
- D. The judgment of the beasts: vv. 11, 12
 - 1. The unnamed, fourth beast is killed and burned: v. 11
 - 2. The previous beasts have their dominion taken away and their

lives are prolonged for a time and a season: v. 12

E. The vision of the son of man: vv. 13, 14

1. The son of man comes before the Ancient of Days on the clouds: v. 13
2. The son of man is given dominion to rule forever: v. 14

Chapter 7 is the key chapter in Daniel's work, as it forms an *inclusio* with chapter two in presenting the four empires and closing out the Aramaic section of the work. Though chapter 7 is in Aramaic like the stories, yet its content is apocalyptic like the succeeding five Hebrew chapters. Daniel 7 shares the apocalyptic genre with these five chapters, but not their language. This has left interpreters baffled, as they have sought various explanations on the diachronic level. From a postcolonial perspective, which privileges the synchronic level, the different languages are merely a function of hybridity. It is also a function of mimicry. Satire is a survival mechanism for the subalterns. The stories are loaded with satire and occasion persecuted Jews to belittle the hubris of empire in their third space engagement. Daniel performs the satire in the language of empire, Aramaic. In the opening verses of the text the narrator establishes the putative historical context. Then Daniel takes over, describing what he saw in his vision that is illuminative: the curtain is pulled back on empire. Empire shall be judged. Human hubris is not forever. This will be of great comfort to his audience. In their third space, they laugh and cry, but they also hear from a sovereign God who controls history. Nothing is left to chance. There is a divine logic to the empires emerging from the chaotic sea. History is not left to its own devices. God is in control.

There is, moreover, an ideology that Daniel proffers to bolster the faithfulness of the Jews undergoing persecution during the state terror of Antiochus IV. Nebuchadnezzar's prayers in Daniel 4:34 sound like those of a pious Jew.⁴¹⁶ In coming out of his insanity, Nebuchadnezzar is attributed to having become monotheistic. The monotheism of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius the Mede is the product of pious ideology, however. There is no proof they shunned their polytheism for the monotheistic faith of the Jews. According to Hartman, this is not a factual. This is a function of midrashism, which comports with the overall theme of the book to bolster faith in the persecuted Jews that their monotheistic religion, which is foundational to their culture, is superior to any form of polytheism, especially that of the Greeks.⁴¹⁷ Daniel, the hero of the Babylonian court, survived a situation comparable to what the Jews amid Antiochus IV's terror faced. He did it with the unswerving commitment to a superior *Weltanschauung* that preserved him in his trying circumstances. The people undergoing religious persecution under Antiochus IV would preserve themselves in the same way; yet, a commitment to such a worldview may lead some of them to be martyred for their faith. The first six chapters of Daniel, then, are not history, but midrashic stories to inspire a suppressed and colonized people. Bereft of their bodies and material well-being, all they have is their minds, which they will not surrender, because they are the *locus* of an edifying experience of God if they are faithful. Both sections of the work, namely the midrashic chapters 1- 6 and the apocalyptic section, chapters 7 - 12, serve this purpose of bolstering the faith of the persecuted. One section inspires through midrashic stories and the other through an apocalyptic theology that broadens and deepens their idea of God through an overwhelming transcendentalism, dualism and a mystical core, an experience of God that is for the colonized a *sanctum sanctorum* where the colonizers cannot

⁴¹⁶ Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 51.

⁴¹⁷ Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 53.

tread. This mystical core is a resistant core. It empowers various forms of resistance and gives them courage in the face of death.

Genre

The genre of Daniel 7:1 - 14 is that of apocalyptic. Apocalypticism represents a movement away from the this-worldly focus of traditional, classical Hebrew prophecy. In Daniel's use of his third space, Philip Chia notes that a colonized people have to accomplish two things in their experience of hybridity to forge their identities. First, they have to reclaim their past from the colonizers.⁴¹⁸ And, second, they have to deconstruct the colonizer's interpretation of their history, which served an ideological end of devaluing the colonized. In the genre of apocalypticism in the hands of Daniel, one sees the reality of hybridity on display. There is a harkening to the past in the genre of apocalypticism and there is yet something new and imaginative that is actually garnered from the experience of Hellenization. Apocalypticism is a hybrid construction of elements from classical, Jewish prophecy and elements from the Hellenistic religious milieu, namely a milieu that is mystical in nature. The apocalypticists engaged the past by deeply familiarizing themselves with texts, which was their continuity with the past as a way to preserve their identity.

In his work on the genre of apocalyptic, John Collins uses a History of Religions methodology on the genre of apocalypticism that came into full expression in historical apocalypses in the second century before the common era. The genre emerges from tradents that go back beyond the formation Israel as a nation in Canaan.⁴¹⁹ Though apocalypticism draws on

⁴¹⁸ Philip Chia, "On Naming the Subject: Postcolonial Reading of Daniel 1," in *The Postcolonial Reader*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 173.

⁴¹⁹ John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Incorporated, 1981), 71.

older traditions, namely Canaanite traditions that predate the nation of Israel, apocalypticism especially developed in the matrix of the Hellenistic world, which was a gathering point for many traditions, i.e. Akkadian, Babylonian, Persian and other traditions. It is significant to note that apocalypticism inherits traditions from various empires that had colonized the Jewish people. This denotes that empires do not die out. They devolve into others. This is why the animals in the mystical vision are given a hybrid appearance. The social intercourse various peoples have with each other does not cease with official dates scholars may signal as the end of an empire and the beginning of another. Influence and parallels of thought should not be restricted to texts, as the vast majority of the people were not literate.⁴²⁰ The Hellenistic world was a “syncretistic” world. It was a collection point of many ideas and the influence of those ideas go beyond the medium of texts. Accordingly, the apocalypticists drew from Canaanite, Akkadian, Babylonian, Persian and Hellenistic ideas as well as biblical ideas.⁴²¹ Part and parcel of those Hellenistic ideas was an emphasis on the supernatural world, and life after death issues involving reward and punishment for actions in this life, the very mystical motifs that distinguish apocalypticism from classical Jewish prophecy.⁴²² According to John Collins, “The matrix of the Jewish apocalypses is not any single tradition but the Hellenistic milieu, where motifs from various traditions circulated freely.”⁴²³ The apocalypticist had a multicultural caldron of ideas out of which to produce his hybrid work that was commensurate with the syncretistic, Hellenistic

⁴²⁰ Jason Silverman, *Persepolis and Jerusalem: Iranian Influence on the Apocalyptic Hermeneutic* (New York: T and T Clark, 2012), 29.

⁴²¹ In his seminal study in *The Dawn of The Apocalyptic*, Paul Hanson locates the precursors of Jewish apocalypticism in the postexilic politics of the hierocratic party represented by Haggai, the early parts of Zechariah and Ezekiel 48 – 48 and the heirs of Second Isaiah, whose frustrations with the temple establishment are expressed in Isaiah 56 – 66, Zechariah 9 – 14 and Isaiah 24 – 29. With the exception of a focus on heaven, mystical elements and speculation, Hanson demonstrates that apocalyptic is dependent on Jewish prophetic traditions.

⁴²² John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees*, 138.

⁴²³ John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination* 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 34.

age. The Hellenes produced a network of cities throughout their conquered lands as dissemination points for Hellenistic ideas, which, according to Collins, was an age that was nostalgic about the past and anxious about the present.⁴²⁴

The four beasts, moreover, are themselves hybrid. The first beast represents the Babylonian Empire; the second, the Median Empire; the third, the Persian Empire; and, the fourth, the Hellenistic Empire of Antiochus IV. They emerge out of the sea, which represents chaos. The battle between God and chaos is a long-standing one in the history of ideas and Canaanite mythology. In the Hebrew Bible the motif of God creating order out of chaos can be found in Job 26:12 - 13, Psalm 89:9 - 11 and 74:13 - 17. According to John Collins, in ancient mythology creation is the imposition of order onto chaos. The four beasts emerge out of chaos. They wreak chaos. Empires tagged as animals are the source of chaos in the world, which God alone can overcome. The victory over chaos is seen in the one like the son of Adam riding on the clouds. He comes as an emissary of peace and contradicts the chaos brought on the world by empires. Daniel offers a nonviolent vision of how to deal with the chaotic times in which he and the *maskilim* live.

The motif of the four kingdoms figured in the four beasts as four successive empires is also taken over from the political propaganda of the Hellenistic world.⁴²⁵ The motif also has elements from biblical imagery, especially Hosea 13, where God brings judgment on Israel through unholy and unkosher animals (nations), namely a lion, bear and leopard.

Moreover, Daniel's way of describing God also has an old tradition behind it, namely the Canaanite God El and Ezekiel's vision of God on the throne. Daniel is indebted to the past in the

⁴²⁴ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 37.

⁴²⁵ Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 75.

construction of his genre of apocalypticism. Yet, he adds something new. In the hybrid experience, it is not enough to reclaim the past. There is also the comparable movement to forge a new identity, to say something new about oneself given the new input from the colonizer. In his hybrid third space, Daniel forges something new that will function as resistance literature against the temple establishment and offer another trajectory in which the religion may develop. The new element the apocalypticists add to their reflection is ascent into the presence of God. This theological move polemicizes the troubled situation at the Jerusalem temple.⁴²⁶

Some scholars question whether the author of the apocalyptic section of Daniel himself had a mystical experience, an ascent to the presence of God that yielded the information that he wrote. Martha Himmelfarb, for example, believes that there is little evidence that would suggest that the author had such a mystical experience that was characterized by an ascent to heaven.⁴²⁷ It is as though the author of Daniel 7:1 - 12 merely resorted to tradition to make a theological claim about a transcendent God in control of history that had gotten out of hand in the Seleucid Empire. Richard Horsley grants that the apocalyptic vision as well as the ascent to heaven have precedent in Amos 7:1 - 7, Zechariah 1 - 6. The divine court room vision hails from Isaiah 40:1 - - 12 and other texts.⁴²⁸ Later, moreover, Horsley concedes that mystical experiences abound among suppressed and persecuted peoples⁴²⁹ Accordingly, it would only make sense that the author of Daniel himself and his followers themselves had mystical experiences as a way to cope with Antiochus IV's state terror. They use their tradition as a way of confirming those

⁴²⁶ Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988), 129.

⁴²⁷ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 110.

⁴²⁸ Richard Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of the Second Temple* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox Press, 2007), 179

⁴²⁹ Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of the Second Temple*, 180.

experiences. Mysticism is a way out for those without power. It is a way to assert one's personhood. Mysticism says that there are doors the oppressors cannot darken. In a situation of persecution, one needs greater comfort than theology. According to Ithamar Gruenwald, the rise of Merkavah mysticism is attributed to Rabbi Yohanan Zakkai.⁴³⁰ Rabbi Zakkai was an eyewitness to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Mystical experiences and the ideas that derived from those experiences were significant ways to deal with the disaster that befell them. The cultic center was destroyed. The religion had to adapt to the new reality *sans* Temple. The destruction of the Temple brought a reaction which one might characterize as "mystical escapism."⁴³¹ According to Gruenwald, "The stresses and distresses of reality pushed people to find comfort and consolation in supra or infra realistic realms. Thus, we find a marked intensification in the interest in and preoccupation with mystical speculation."⁴³² Mysticism is one of many responses of the powerless. It is also a resistant response.

Enoch 14, Isaiah 6, and Ezekiel 1 are the literary setting for the throne scene. 1 Enoch 46:1 -5 also serves as the literary setting for the appearance of the son of Adam before the throne. In chapter 9 I shall deal specifically with the son of Adam imagery which gets interpreted in many ways. Some take it to be a trope for the Jewish people. Others see the figure as an angel. I shall argue that the son of Adam before the throne mirrors what the high priest does once a year on Yom Kippur. The high priest enters the *sanctum sanctorum* to receive Torah from God, so that he can give instruction and guidance to the people. The son of Adam before the throne in Daniel is the decolonized high priest. The high priesthood in the hands of Antiochus IV is the colonized high priest; hence, one cannot trust anything coming from the

⁴³⁰ Ithamar Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: G.T. Brill, 1980), 47.

⁴³¹ Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 47.

⁴³² Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 48

mouth of the colonized high priest. The revolt against Jason and Menelaus was over the treatment of the office of the high priest. After the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, the high priest became an important symbol of ethnic unity.

Himmelfarb posits, moreover, that Daniel's bodily preparations were not the vehicles through which the vision occurred; they do not occasion the ascent to throne room of God, where he sees history unfold and its final resolution in one like the son of Adam coming on the clouds. As all scholars who fixate on texts and obsess about locating precursors to such texts, Himmelfarb shows a lack of understanding of mystical practices. Fasting, penance and dietary restrictions are part of the *via mystica*, the way that mystics practice purgation of the body in order to diminish attachments to the things of this world to prepare themselves for religious experience. Daniel is offered to the *maskilim* as a way to be holy, to be faithful unto death in a trying situation. To keep their wits about themselves, mystics see meaning in everything. What may look like defeat is a victory in some bigger context. The modes of empire get reversed in the mystic's mind. Also, the mystic disposition sees meaning in ancient texts and repurposes those texts to speak to their situation.

Moreover, it is not fortuitous that Daniel is chosen as the model of a mystic way to resist. The legendary figure is chosen so that he can be emulated. He, too, was in a similar situation wherein his identity and humanity were being compromised; yet, he transcended his situation of repression with a mystic lifestyle forged in the third space of hybridity. Daniel is proffered as an example of how to resist nonviolently. To do so takes strength of the spirit, which can be garnered through the type of religious experiences that Daniel models. Also, Himmelfarb notes

little is said about the visionary's place in the community.⁴³³ True mystics shy away from public attention. They do not clamor after public accolades or attention, for their way is not the way of the crowd. John Calvin, no great mystic, nevertheless had a mystical experience about which he never spoke. He neither promoted himself on the basis of his mystical experience nor founded his church on it. Yet, the mystical experience he experienced had real psychological and existential value.

Apocalypticism, moreover, is a hybrid construction. It has features that are commensurate with traditional prophetic ideas; yet, it has features that are new, derived from the Hellenistic milieu. According to Ithamar Gruenwald, the promulgators of new ideas in the Jewish religion had to do so in the context of holy scriptures.⁴³⁴ To establish credibility and to be taken seriously by Jewish people, new ideas had to be grounded in the symbols and conceptual language of the Hebrew writings cherished by Jewish people. As noted, the Hellenistic matrix that informs the apocalypses has many cultural influences. Even before the Hellenistic milieu, apocalypticism had a long history in developing its ideas. No one factor fully explains the rise of apocalypticism. One must denote what is unique about apocalypticism in the apocalypse; and, that is its mystical core, wherein the visionary ascends to the presence of God and returns to disseminate what he experienced. Gruenwald defines that visionary, mystical core in the following way⁴³⁵

- A. God is sitting on a throne. (Isaiah, Ezekiel, 1 Enoch 14)
- B. God has the appearance of a man (Ezekiel): particularly that of an old, white-haired man (Daniel).

⁴³³ Martha Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, 40.

⁴³⁴ Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* 3.

⁴³⁵ Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 31.

- C. God is sitting in a palace (2 Kings, Isaiah, Daniel).
- D. Fire occupies an important position in the vision (Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah).
- E. God is accompanied by angels who minister to God (2 Kings, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel).
- F. The angels recite hymns (Isaiah, Ezekiel).

According to Gruenwald, all these elements are prominent elements in the mystical core at the center of the apocalypse. These elements go on to inform Merkavah and Hekhalot mystical literature as well.

Daniel has a vision in the throne room of God wherein he sees the succession of empires and the ultimate demise of the fourth unnamed kingdom that is comprised of ten horns and a little one, namely Antiochus IV. Daniel does not enter the holy environs of the Temple to receive this vision. He receives it on his couch after much preparation of his body, soul and mind as mystics are wont to do. Daniel invites his faithful followers to envision life without the Temple. God's presence is no longer there in that place. Instead, one is invited by God to observe the mysteries unfold from a heavenly perspective. The priests at Jerusalem no longer control the mysteries. They have been colonized. The mysteries are available to the ones who prepare themselves. Daniel's ascent to heaven and his living to return to tell it constitutes for Gruenwald a mystical experience. Mysticism is a most slippery word on which to get a handle. It means many things to many people and cultures when it is understood broadly. For the apocalypticists, it is a deep study of texts and religious experience. Jewish mysticism that evolves from apocalypticism, then, is kataphatic; i.e., it is informed by images and words. It is in the third space: Daniel the apocalypticist carves out a spiritual space where he can escape the frights of the socio-political terror foisted on the Jews in the second century B.C.E.

Setting

The *Sitz im Leben* of Daniel 7:1 - 14 is the ignominious reign of Antiochus Epiphanes IV. The Book of Daniel as a whole has to be dated during the turbulent times of Antiochus before the recapture of the Temple by the Maccabees and its subsequent rededication in early December 164 and the ultimate demise of Antiochus in that same year.⁴³⁶ Most scholars see a *Hasidic* origin of Daniel, which has been corroborated by Qumran, where Daniel and other apocalyptic literature held a prominent place. Though the connection between the Essene group and the Qumran establishment is a tenuous one, this has not stopped some scholars from making a one-to-one identification between the Essenes and Qumran. According to Hartman, the Essences had their origin during the proliferation of Hasidic movements in the second century before the common era. The Essences were one of many groups which had difficulty with the profanation of the Temple establishment and the subsequent political chicanery of the Hasmoneans. The word Essenes derives from the Greek *essenoi*, which derives from the from the East Aramaic (Syriac) *hasen*.⁴³⁷ The Hebrew equivalent of those terms is *hasid*. Hartman notes that there are linguistic affinities between Daniel and First Maccabees, which indicate a continuity between the faithful response of the *Hasidim* to Antiochus IV in the age of the temple's profanation and the later Essenes.

Jewish resistance to Antiochus began first on the economic level. Antiochus' militarism left him scraping for cash. The Greek mode of empire was both economic and ideological. Before the ideological could be utilized, there had to be an initial phase of militarism, whereby

⁴³⁶ Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, 42.

⁴³⁷ Hartman and Dilella, *The Book of Daniel*, 45.

the Greek colonists established their presence in the region through armed force. In his work *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters*, R.S. Sugirtharajah notes what he calls the three streams of postcoloniality.⁴³⁸ The first stream conveys the reality of invasion and control. That control must come on the heels of the overwhelming use of military power to press the colonizers' economic will on the colonized. Over time, an overwhelming military presence becomes expensive, as paying and caring for garrisoned troops prove cost-prohibitive. Supporting garrisoned troops suppresses profits. Over the long term, getting the colonized to buy into an ideology is more productive and less expressive. If a power can control the colonized through an ideology, then it will produce long-lasting returns on its investments in the country of the colonized. The mode of empire for the Greeks was to get a colonized people to buy into Hellenism. However, some colonized peoples' spirits were hard to break. Such was the case with the Jews in the Second Temple Period.

Antiochus' forays into Egypt to battle the Ptolemies, moreover, left him scrapped for cash. He imposed oppressive taxation on the Jews. What offended Jews more than anything was the mistreatment of the high priestly office. Jason and Menelaus, two Hellenistic sympathizers, were the main protagonists that precipitated the historical circumstances that inform the book of Daniel. Jason bribed Antiochus to depose his brother, the high priest Onias III, and instead to give him the high priestly office. According to 1 Maccabees 1:11-15, Jason sweetened the deal by offering to build a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem in honor of Antiochus IV. Jason held the office for three years. The office of high priest had been colonized. Later Menelaus outbided Jason and the office was given to him by the improvident Antiochus IV. Daniel chapter 11:21-

⁴³⁸ R.S. Sugirtharajah, *The Bible and the Third World: Precolonial, Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters* (England: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 248.

39 is about this history. Both Jason and Menelaus are the violators of the covenant, the Jewish Hellenizers, who are seduced by the flatteries of Antiochus as he jockeys for the highest bidder to the office of high priest (11:32). After an absence of some time from Jerusalem, Jason returns and banishes Menelaus. Menelaus appeals to Antiochus for help. After his humiliations by the Romans, “Kittim,” in his southern campaign, Antiochus returns with a large army to Jerusalem to buttress Menelaus’ claim to the high priesthood. The people rebel over such a blatant abuse of an office foundational to their religion and the imminent threat to their way of life. Antiochus punishes the people by plundering the temple. He forges a get-tough policy that is in actual fact state-sponsored terror. The terror is thoroughgoing inasmuch as he outlaws the Jewish religion. He issues orders whose intent was to Hellenize Jewish life. The observance of the Sabbath and possession of the Torah became capital offenses. Antiochus intended to exterminate the Jewish religion and break the spirits of the Jewish people. Instead, he bolstered their spirits, causing them to rebel and find other ways to express the religious longing of the heart. One cannot defeat a people willing to be martyred for the faith as the book of Daniel illustrates. There is something bigger than pecuniary interests, and religion has to do with the cultivation of those bigger things of the heart and conscience that are unbreakable.

Antiochus IV, moreover, marched his troops into the temple and erected the “abomination that makes desolate” over the altar for burnt offerings. The abomination was an altar to Zeus, the head of the Greek Gods. Ancient battles were not just about two warring peoples; they were also about their gods engaging in battle. Pigs were sacrificed in the temple court to add insult to injury. Throughout the land altars were built on which Jews were forced to make sacrifices to Zeus and eat pig meat. Troops policed the land to ensure that Antiochus’ edicts were observed. According to Anathea Portier-Young, this was a function of the “logic of

repression and control.”⁴³⁹ It was state terror that was intended to keep Jews off balanced and in a state of perpetual anxiety, thereby undermining security and eviscerating Judean autonomy. Antiochus IV intended to break their spirits and surrender their will to fight.

Intention

The intention of Daniel 7:1 - 14 is to buttress the faithfulness of Daniel’s fellow *maskilim*. By way of example, he encourages them to be disciplined in their lives. Such faithful adherence to the traditions of their religion and openness to the new possibilities that the Hellenistic world offered them enable them to live hybrid lives of excellence and righteousness. The book promotes a mystical lifestyle that is resistant in nature. This resistant lifestyle spawned in faithfulness enables them to open themselves up to divine power, to mystical experiences that give them a transcendent sense.⁴⁴⁰ With that divine power in tow, the colonized are empowered to transcend their defeat and open themselves up to new possibilities. The most courageous thing a colonized people can do is to preserve their hearts and minds amid repression and suppression. Historically, mysticism has proven a powerful source of resistance against colonization and its dehumanizing avatars in the form of racism and economic subjugation and exploitation.

Postcolonial Application

Anathea Portier-Young notes three aspects of resistance:⁴⁴¹ 1) domination and its various strategies to reinforce itself precipitate resistance. Expressed anecdotally, for every action there

⁴³⁹ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company), 277.

⁴⁴⁰ Philip Chia, “On Naming the Subject: Postcolonial Reading of Daniel 1,” in *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 179.

⁴⁴¹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 11.

is a reaction, especially reactions to dominance. 2) Acts of resistance derive from the intention to “limit, oppose, reject and transform hegemonic institutions and cosmologies as well as systems, strategies and acts of domination.”⁴⁴² And 3) Resistance is effective action that limits power and is characterized by one’s ability to carry out one’s will. For Portier-Young, counter-discourse is the primary form of resistance.⁴⁴³ Counter-discourse occurs when the subaltern takes control of his/her history and proffer it as a counter-discourse that limits the overreaching hubris of the colonizer. The effective currency of Daniel and his fellow *maskilim* is to teach a counter-discourse to their followers that would limit the arrogance of the Seleucid Empire. This teaching is done in various *fora*, not the least of which are the spiritual practices of fasting, prayer, fighting and accepting martyrdom.⁴⁴⁴ According to Portier-Young, such spiritual practices are “embodied” practices that “testify to the radical relocation of power from earth to heaven and from empire, king and army to God, angels, one like a human being and God’s people.”⁴⁴⁵ Apocalypse is the product of such embodied, spiritual practices. As such, it is resistance literature.⁴⁴⁶ Empire is universalizing in its political, economic and social reach. It attempts to control through the flagrant, unilateral exercise of power. In the case of Hellenistic empires, that control was initially military. But, the real mode of empire for the Hellenistic empires is ideology. It proffered an ideology as a way to control the subjugated populaces. It divided the populace among itself by offering the perks of its empire to the elite. This allurement was meant to control. It is never benign, for it means the loss of one’s self. In the case of Antiochus IV, he used the strategy of terror as a way to suppress the Jewish population that the

⁴⁴² Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 11.

⁴⁴³ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 12.

⁴⁴⁴ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 12.

⁴⁴⁵ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 12.

⁴⁴⁶ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, xvi.

Jewish elites could no longer control. As noted in the above, the Jews were murdered for adherence to their ancient faith. Apocalypse responds to the Seleucid Empire by asserting God's power. Daniel calls for his fellow *maskilim* to resist the intrusion of the deleterious effects of empire through an oppositional discourse in apocalypse and a spiritual practice that is commensurate with the new reality of the apocalypse.

According to Portier-Young, Daniel's apocalypse invites his followers to resist the dual consciousness that is part and parcel of being subaltern.⁴⁴⁷ Daniel's use of two languages has resistance written all over it. Language is an important method of control for colonizers. To decolonize, a people has to take back their language. Daniel not only speaks the language of his oppressors, but he also speaks his traditional Hebrew language. This was to signal to the *maskilim* the key to their inner freedom of dual consciousness was to take ownership of their ancient language. It was an act of resistance. Portier-Young says:

The writers of Daniel outlined for their audiences a program of nonviolent resistance to the edict of Antiochus. New revelation provided an apocalyptic frame for covenant theology and offered hermeneutical keys for interpreting scripture in ways that anchored the writers' self-understanding and understanding of history, current events and God's future action. Each of these in turn shaped a vision for resistance that included prayer, fasting and penitence, teaching and preaching, and covenant fidelity even in the face of death.⁴⁴⁸

Prayer, especially mystical prayer, coming into contact with a divine power through an infrastructure of prayer, prayer as part of *via mystica*, enables one to resist. Mysticism is

⁴⁴⁷ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 227.

⁴⁴⁸ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 229.

counterdiscourse, countercultural and resistant to the universalizing tendencies of empire, for it limits the power of empire, proclaiming that Antiochus IV may kill the body, but never the spirit.

Chapter 7

THE UNITIVE TEXTS

The final phase of Daniel's *via mystica* is the unitive. The mystic unifies with the object of his/her affection, desire and longing: God. Light emanates from God. Daniel prays in Daniel 2:22c וְנַהֲרָא [א] עַמָּה שֶׁרָא “The light emanates from God.” God is the source of light and light emanates from God and joins itself to people who seek it in a disciplined *via mystica*. The light illuminates intelligence and gives wisdom, so that Daniel and the *maskilim* become the true sages, understanding the political and social exigencies of their tragic day. Unity with the light occurs in this life when the sage uses it as a source of clairvoyance into the mysteries of darkness propagated by empire. There is, however, always a risk of undergoing suffering when engaging the dark powers of empire. Hence, the sages are suffering servants. In their role of making people understand they suffer. Daniel's allusion to Isaiah's suffering servant is without question. Yet, the suffering of the *maskilim* refines them, makes them white, conforms them to the light, making them white like the light. The light, moreover, is the source of union to those who rise and shine like the brightness through martyrdom. They have been unified with the light. Their martyrdom has not cut them off from God, who is light, active amid the darkness, hidden in the darkness as light. They are resurrected into the light. Unity with the light, then, occurs both in this life and the next life, where resurrection occurs.

7.1 Daniel 11:32 – 35

וּמִרְשִׁיעֵי בָּרִית יְהֹוָה בְּחַלְקֹות וְעַם יְהֹוָה אֶלְעָיו יְחֹזָקוּ וְעָשֹׂו :³³
וּמִשְׁכִּילֵי עַם יְבִינֵו לְרָבִים וְגַכְשֵׁלֵו בְּחַרְבָּה וּבְלַהֲבָה בְּשֻׁבְעָיו וּבְבָזָה יִמְיִם :³⁴
וּבְהַפְּשָׁלָם יַעֲזֹר מַעַט וְגַלְעוּ עַלְיָהָם רָבִים בְּחַלְקֹות :³⁵ וּמְזִ –

**הַמְשֻׁבְּכִילִים יִכְשָׁלֶוּ לְצַרְוֹף בָּהֶם וְלִבְרֹר וְלִלְבֹּן עַד־עֵת קָז כִּי־עֹז
לְמוֹעֵד :**

Translation

32) Those who violate the covenant he will pollute with smooth talk, but the people knowing their God will be firm and act.

33) Those who prosper the people will make many understand; they will stumble many days by the sword and by flames, by captivity and by plunder.

34) When they stumble, they will be helped little, and many will join themselves to them with flattery.

35) Some of the sages will stumble to refine them, to purify them, to make them white until the time of the end; it is yet to be determined.

Structural Analysis

THE ANGEL'S DISCOURSE ABOUT THE END AND THE FATE OF THE SAGES, DANIEL 11:2 - 12:4

I. Antiochus IV's Persecution of the Sages: vv. 32 - 35

A. The seduction of Antiochus IV: v. 32

1. Antiochus' seduction will deceive those who violate the covenant:
v. 32a
2. Antiochus' seduction will not deceive those who know their God:
v. 32b

- B. The work and martyrdom of the sages: v. 33
 - 1. The sages make many understand: v. 33a
 - 2. The sages stumble by sword, flame, captivity and plunder: v. 33b

- C. The vulnerability of the sages: v. 34
 - 1. When the sages are persecuted, they receive little help: v. 34a
 - 2. Many join them through flattery: v. 34b

- D. The refining power of persecution: v. 35
 - 1. Some sages stumble to refined, purified and made white: v. 35a
 - 2. The refining process continues until the end, which is not determined: v. 35b

This text reveals the fate of the *maskilim* as emissaries of light. The angel reveals the fate of those who face the darkness of corporate evil concentrated in empire. As in Daniel's time, those who teach and lead people in this present darkness get persecuted; they are martyred. Their only comfort in the process of performing their office of instruction to which they are called is that God knows darkness and God is active in the darkness disseminating light. Empire, then, is not beyond the sovereign light that is God. The angel brings light to a troubled situation.

Genre

Daniel 11:32 - 35 is part of a historical apocalypse wherein there is a delineation of historical events. The angel's discourse is an illumination, shedding light on the darkness of the days in which the author of Daniel together with his fellow priests must undergo. God gives them an epiphany about the political and social chaos. The angel's address is an *ex eventu* prophecy. The prophecy is correct about the career of Antiochus IV, but not his death, which proves the after-the-fact nature of the prophecy.

Setting

The historical setting is the 167 to 164 B.C.E. The *Sitz in der Literatur* is Isaiah 52:13 - 53, where the characteristics of the suffering servant are similar to the enlightened heroes in Daniel 11: 32 - 35. Some have called Daniel “the oldest interpretation of the suffering servant.”⁴⁴⁹ Isaiah says that God’s servants “acts wisely.” The currency of the *maskilim* is wisdom. Wisdom is used to enlighten the people, to cause them to understand. Yet, in the suffering servant’s role of making the people understand, there is profound suffering and violence, such that the servant is despised and rejected by people. Suffering and wanton violence are part and parcel of the ministry of enlightening people.

Intention

The intention is to give a broader perspective in which to place the suffering and the violence that the teachers undergo. The suffering serves to refine them, conform them to the nature of God as light. The *ex eventu* prophecy at the core of Daniel historical apocalypse allows the author of Daniel to speak with authority relative to the suffering and martyrdom that the sages experience in their work of enlightening the people.

Postcolonial Application

The task of enlightening the masses may bring suffering and persecution. The *maskilim* underwent suffering and some were martyred for teaching their people to understand the hidden realities of imperial, colonial darkness. Through such teaching, the suffering servants, the

⁴⁴⁹ Lester G. Brooke, *Daniel Evokes Isaiah: Allusive Characterization of Foreign Rule in the Hebrew – Aramaic Book of Daniel* (London: Bloomsberg T and T Clark, 2015), 3. Brooke calls the Book of Daniel “plainly intertextual,” as it alludes to the prophets throughout the work, from Isaiah to Jeremiah and to Hosea. Daniel, according to Brooke, appears to be more interested in the prophets than the Torah.

maskilim, empowered their people to prosper. All those who dare to speak against power get persecuted in some way. Enduring persecution to the point of death is proof that the political resister is animated by transcendent values for which they are willing to die. Death is the register of authenticity. Enduring transformations of societies are built on the blood of the martyrs. All the Third World anticolonial thinkers delineated in chapter two of this work were persecuted for their ideas. The fight against ideology is insidious and intractable, as borne out by the Negritude Movement, the Harlem Renaissance, the Cabo Verdianidade Movimento, and the Negrismo Movement. All these movements were headed by intellectuals who enlightened the masses in their ideological warfare against colonialism. The leaders of these movements were spied on and persecuted by imperial powers. Some were martyred: Amílcar Cabral was assassinated by the Portuguese, who worked through a dissident leader in Cabral's own group to spy on him and eventually kill him. Cabral was an avid reader and a natural teacher. He not only fought; he also taught. In this sense, he was especially a threat to the colonial Portuguese in Portuguese Guinea. For Cabral, knowledge is never the enemy, even knowledge garnered from empire. Enlightened teaching catalyzes enduring prosperity among a people through knowledge, no matter the source. All knowledge can be repurposed for a suppressed people's milieu to catalyze prosperity. Teachers cause people to prosper through understanding. *Maskilim* derives from **שָׁכֵל**, meaning to "to look at, to prosper, to teach." Isaiah 52:13 says, "Behold, my servant prosters"; "Behold, my servant teaches." Prosperity is closely tied to teaching. The *maskilim*, imitating Isaiah's suffering servant, make their people prosper through enlightened teaching. There is a risk in empowering and enlightening people: darkness reacts violently. Yet, God as light knows darkness. Darkness cannot comprehend the light, though emissaries of the light get martyred.

וְבָעֵת הַהִיא יַעֲמֹד מִיכָּאֵל הַשִּׁר הַגָּדוֹל הַעֲמָד עַל־בָּנָיו עַמְּךָ וְהַיִתָּה
עַת צָרָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נָהִיתָ מִהְנוֹת גַּוִּי עַד הַעַת הַהִיא וְבָעֵת הַהִיא יִמְלֹט
עַמְּךָ כָּל־הַגָּמָץ אֲכֻתוֹב בְּסֶפֶר : ² וּרְبָּים מִישָׁנִי אֶדְמָת־עַפָּר יִקְיַצֵּוּ אֱלֹהִים
לְתִיןְ עַזְלָם וְאֱלֹהִים לְחַרְפּוֹת לְדָרָאָזָן עַזְלָם : ס ³ וְהַמְשִׁכְלִים יִזְהַרְוּ כַּזָּהָר
הַרְקִיעַ וּמְצִדְיקֵי הַרְבָּים כְּכֹוכָבִים לְעַזְלָם וְעַד : פ ⁴ וְאַתָּה הַנִּיאָל סְתִּים
הַדְּבָרִים וְחַתָּם הַסְּפִיר עַד־עַת קָז יִשְׂטְטוּ רְבִים וְתִרְבָּה הַקְּדֻשָּׁה :

Translation

- 1) At that time Michael will arise, the great leader standing on behalf of the children of your people. And there will be distress which has not been since the establishment of your people until now. At that time your people will escape, all whose names are written in the book.
- 2) Many sleeping in the dust will rise: some to life everlasting; others to shame and everlasting abhorrence.
- 3) The sages will shine like the light of the firmament, those making many righteous like the stars forever and ever.
- 4) But you, Daniel, shut up these words and seal the book until the time of the end. Many will go quickly and knowledge will increase.

Structural Analysis

THE END OF TIME, DANIEL 12:1 - 13

I. The Fate of Daniel's People: vv. 1 - 4

A. The crisis of the end: v. 1

1. Michael will appear: v. 1a
2. There will be a time of trouble: v. 1b
3. Daniel's people will be delivered: v. 1c
4. The people whose name is written in the book
will be saved: v. 1d.

B. The resurrection: v. 2

1. Some raised to everlasting life: v. 2a
2. Others raised to everlasting shame: v. 2b

C. The reward of the sages: v. 3

1. The sages will shine like the brightness of the sky above: v. 3a
2. The sages turning many to righteousness will shine like the
stars: v. 3b

D. Final instructions to Daniel: v. 4

1. Daniel is told to shut up the words in a book and seal it: v. 4a
2. Many run about: knowledge will increase: v. 4b

This text continues the angel's dialogue with Daniel in the last chapter. The angel alone speaks. The angel speaks with the authority of heaven, which gives assurance to a persecuted people that their work on behalf of the Light is not in vain. They shall be rewarded. Having already attached themselves to the Light, having had a unitive experience in their mystical

practices that enlightens them, they will experience the ultimate union with the Light in death, in the resurrection. The eschatology of the section has an already and not yet aspect.

Genre

According to John Collins, “at that time” introduces an eschatological prophecy.⁴⁵⁰ It refers to the Antiochus IV’s invasion of Jerusalem and its eventual demise referred to in 11:40 - 41. That signals the end of time. 12:1 - 4 culminates the end of the historical apocalypse which began in chapter 11 as an *ex eventu* prophecy.

Setting

The narrative setting continues to be the court of Darius the Mede from chapter 11. The actual historical is the entrance of Antiochus IV into the city to quell the rebellion precipitated by Jason and Menelaus. There was general upheaval over the simony of the sacred office of high priest. The author predicts the death of Antiochus IV and visualizes the end of time initiated by his death. As a protection amid the chaos of the end, the angel Michael will stand over the people to protect them.

In Jeremiah 30:1 - 7, the prophet articulates the vision from God that the fortunes of Israel and Judah will be restored. God promises to return them to the land that God had given their forefathers. Before that occurs, however, there will be a נַעֲמָן “time of distress.” This is the same phrase that the author of Daniel uses to signal the time before the end. When the radically new emerges, it does so through great pain and suffering, as though a woman in the

⁴⁵⁰ John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 390.

throes of child birth. During such distress, the people need protection and guidance that only the great leader of the people, Michael, can provide.

Intention

In the time of stress, Michael provides needed guidance, which is assuring to the faithful ones. The ultimate assurance, however, is the resurrection from the dust. Daniel does not envision a universal resurrection of the dead;⁴⁵¹ it is a resurrection of the faithful, especially the *maskilim*, who were emissaries of the light during the days of distress. Their ministry of enlightenment ended in making many righteous. Isaiah's suffering servant also makes many righteous. Their light nature, moreover, gets amplified in the resurrection where they shine like the light above and the stars in the sky. They experience light in their mystical practice from a God who emanates light. They enlighten their people as teachers who cause them to prosper. They experience the ultimate unitive experience with Light in their resurrection. This is their already/not yet unitive experience produced through their faithful adherence to their *via mystica*.

The resurrection of the faithful, moreover, serves the purpose of theodicy. If God is in a mutually faithful relationship with the those who are faithful, who demonstrate ḥasidut to God by being faithful to death, then God must demonstrate ḥasidut by rewarding them with life. God's reputation as a just and merciful God is at stake if violence and evil are not overcome in some way. For Daniel, the resurrection is the way to justify God's existence as a kindly-disposed sovereign in the face centrifugal forces of evil.

⁴⁵¹ Collins, *Daniel*, 392.

Postcolonial Application

The authentic martyrs of human and societal transformation continue to shine as light.

They are stars illuminating the dark sky. Their choosing faithfulness unto death is a compelling proof for the existence of a just and faithful God. Every intellectual argument for or against God's existence pales in comparison to the brilliance of the faithful who die to follow their transcendent values to better humanity through enlightenment and understanding.

Chapter 8

MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF THE SEA, תְהִוָת יָם אֶתְנָה

Mysticism can be construed in such a way that it can serve as a source of resistance against a subjugating, imperial power and a decolonization of the psyche of the negative images of that power's ideology in the aftermath of colonization. Such a construal of mysticism is postcolonial mysticism. Postcolonial mysticism, moreover, demonstrates resistance by not absolutizing this world or justifying its political, economic or social arrangements with sublime, religious language and ideology. Also, postcolonial mysticism resists the temptation to absolutize religious experience as though one has found the one-time experience of God that is normative for the rest of one's life. The thesis of this chapter is that at the center of postcolonial mysticism is a theology of becoming which makes it impossible to absolutize this world and religious experience, as becoming continuously opens one up to the *novum* that is forever clothed in possibilities emanating from a God of light that is essentially related to creation. The sea and the deep are metaphors of this becoming that is contoured by relativity, interdependence, and mutuality in this world. Mystics, then, need not necessarily be seen as so heavenly minded that they are of no earthly good. Mystical experiences and the mystical theology that attempt to articulate such experiences can be world affirming. Becoming and relativity ground the postcolonial mystic in this life, even as God is also essentially related to this world. The mystic occupies a space where no colonizer can darken, namely the soul as an occasion for an inner dialogue with God and self. It is from such a dialogue that revolutions have been spawned and sustained throughout human history.

Daniel's idea of the sea and the Bible's notion of מִתְהוֹן are foundational to a mystical theology of becoming.⁴⁵² Through a theology of becoming, postcolonial mysticism deconstructs identities and opens up possibilities for the reconstruction of identities. Before considering Daniel's contribution to a mystical theology of becoming, a few introductory remarks are in order about how mysticism and postcolonialism might be related.

As a recap, postcolonial theory originated as a way to critique the reality and effects of colonial presence.⁴⁵³ Postcolonial theory addresses two major concerns about the deleterious effects of empires on subjugated peoples. First, postcolonial theory seeks to understand how a subaltern people's self-image has been adversely affected by the construal of that image by the colonial power. In order to suppress a people and convince them to remain passive, an empire has to so denigrate the image of that people that they become convinced they are savages and deserve only the cultural and economic pittances that the empire doles out to them as an afterthought after the resources of their country have been carted away to the metropolitan center. The presence of empire in the form of economic and military wealth, moreover, has an alluring hold on subjugated peoples. Subaltern people mimic and imitate the usurpers of power in their land in such a way that they lose their identity in their effort to curry favor with the powerful. This causes divisions within the subaltern community and self-hatred, as the cultural symbols of the imperial power are seen as inherently superior. Postcolonial theory seeks to understand how an imperial power damages the self-image of the people whom it subjugates.

⁴⁵² I am indebted to Catherine Keller, a process theologian, for the idea of the theology of becoming. I shall develop this below. I mentioned her now to lay my cards on the table. Catherine Keller, *Face of the Deep: A Theology of Becoming* (London: Rutledge, 2003).

⁴⁵³ R.S. Surgirtharajah, ed., *The Postcolonial Biblical Reader* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 7.

Postcolonial theory also investigates how a subjugated people can go beyond the efforts of the colonizers at defining them.⁴⁵⁴ The purveyors of postcolonial thought empower the subalterns to decolonize the images that the colonizers imposed on them for their pecuniary interests. In the strategy of empowering the subalterns, postcolonial theorists have borrowed from other theories in their critical assessments of the culture and economic status of the subalterns, namely post-structuralism, Marxism, cultural studies, linguistics and literary studies. Postcolonial theory, then, seeks to uncover how the history of colonialization continues to be a drag on the people. The freeing of colonized people in Africa, Asian and South America does not signal the end of the effects of an erstwhile colonization. The post in postcolonialism does not mean the end of colonialism, as it continues in the more insidious form of globalization. Globalization occasions a new domination in the form of multi-national corporations.⁴⁵⁵ This is the new reality beyond historic colonization, which keeps subalterns in a state of ambivalence, feeling they are a day late and a dollar short. Postcolonial projects of liberation have a psychological purpose of turning around what the West wrought in the psyches of subalterns in Africa, Asia and South America in the 19th century when it controlled 9/10 of the globe. The West legitimized its rule through the use of anthropological theories that infantilized and made inferior the colonized people of Africa, South America and the Asia.⁴⁵⁶ Postcolonial theory, accordingly, has to use critical skills to extricate subalterns from a web of self-hatred and economic and cultural backwardness produced in them by the colonial presence. This is the challenge of decolonization: decolonizing the mind. A postcolonial mysticism can aid in the

⁴⁵⁴ Sugirtharajah, *The Postcolonial Reader*, 7.

⁴⁵⁵ Catherine Keller, Michael Nausner, and Mayra Rivera, eds., *Postcolonial Theologies: Divinity and Empire* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2004), 6.

⁴⁵⁶ Robert J.C. Young, *Post-Colonialism: A Very Short Introduction* (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2.

process of decolonization of the mind. Postcolonial mysticism not only empowers people to resist; it also empowers them to decolonize their minds of negative images.

According to Homi Bhabha, subalterns assert their humanity in the areas that he describes as “third space” or “in-between” space.⁴⁵⁷ The so-called in-between space is the product of two cultures that confront each other. Their confrontation produces boundaries (*quasi* demilitarized zones) wherein an oppressed people might exert their humanity or forge an identity using the cultural elements of their overlords together with their own cultural elements that they might deem essential to the process of building an identity. This new appropriation of the self is in dialogic relationship with the dominant culture’s attempt to define them. The specific postcolonial nomenclature for these in-between spaces is hybridity. Hybridity is an “in-between space in which the colonized translate or undo the binaries imposed on them by the colonizers.”⁴⁵⁸ The hybrid, in-between places are fraught with resistance, wherein the subalterns resist the cultural and linguistic hegemony of the oppressors. The purpose of the resistance is to limit the power of the colonizers.⁴⁵⁹

Resistance, moreover, is not simple and direct; it does not always lead to revolution and independence from the bullying power. Sometimes it is subtle and intangible, often informed by the amount of freedom a subjugated people has. Oppressors take obsequious behavior as a sign of the subjugated people’s inherent inferiority. Interpreted differently, however, such behavior is merely a survival strategy deriving from what emotional social space is left to the oppressed to express themselves. There are other subtler forms of resistance, namely foot dragging, feigning

⁴⁵⁷ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Rutledge, 1994), 36.

⁴⁵⁸ Surgitharajah, *The Postcolonial Reader*, 15.

⁴⁵⁹ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 11.

ignorance, slander, arson, false compliance and sabotage.⁴⁶⁰ Postcolonialism is a discourse about all these forms of resistance to domination, from overt political acts to subtler day-to-day resistance that preserves the subalterns' dignity.

Postcolonial thought pays close attention to language and how it has been denigrated by domination.⁴⁶¹ It proffers a hermeneutic of suspicion over against the religious language of the subalterns, despite how piously sublime that language comes off. Domination cloaks itself in high-sounding religious language. Postcolonial theory in the hands of biblical critics and theologians seeks to expose the hidden motivations of domination in religious texts and open up other ways of reading the text in the hybrid context where the subalterns reinterpret the text for their enrichment and empowerment. In that hybrid context, the subalterns are ever about the process of resisting.

Mysticism and postcolonialism are on the same page relative to liberation and the liberative use of language. A liberative mysticism is grounded in this world. In her work *The Silent Cry: Mysticism and Resistance*, Dorothee Soelle avers that an authentic mysticism, one relevant in a world hungering for peace and justice, is a mysticism that forgoes the distinction between the internal, spiritual world that is cast in a superior light over against the external, political world where conflicts arise because of competing interests.⁴⁶² According to Soelle, various expressions of mysticism can be placed on a spectrum from withdrawal from the world at one end to protest and transformation of the world through revolution at the other. There have been quietistic forms of mysticism that have retreated totally from the world. Such a case would be the Trappists. At the other extreme would be Thomas Muenster in 16th century Germany and

⁴⁶⁰ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 5.

⁴⁶¹ Keller, Nausner and Rivera, *Postcolonial Theologies*, 8.

⁴⁶² Dorothee Soelle, *The Silent Cry: Mysticism and Resistance* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 3.

the Beguines in the 14th century of the Common Era. They were inspired by possibilities of casting the world in a different light. Their mystical experiences were not merely a noetic source of a better world; they served to bolster them in their experiences of persecution as they engaged others who were committed to keeping the world as presently constituted. For Soelle, mysticism that matters is one that is resistant. The mystic is not merely one who has an altered state of consciousness derived from an encounter with God. A genuine mystical encounter will affect the person's whole life, inside and out. Soelle recruits William James in securing a definition of mysticism that is not limited to a religious content. James notes four characteristics of mystical experience. First, there is a loss of all worry and anxiety. One garners in mystical experience a sense of one's well-being that is characterized by peace and harmony. Though the circumstances of life remain constant, one is empowered to be.⁴⁶³ Second, one gets a sixth sense about perceiving truths not realized beforehand. There is a lucidity that accompanies the acquirement of that intuitive sense. Third, the world seems to change: blues become bluer; reds become redder; there is a heightened sense of awareness. Finally, according to William James, mystical experiences promote "the ecstasy of happiness." Those discernible psychological effects are accompanied by the stretching of the soul's capacity for love in dealing with other humans who are made in the image of God. One comes to appreciate the dignity of all humans and comes to sense a connection with them. Barriers fall down; divisions between people seem not to matter anymore as one fosters an "I - Thou" encounter with people. This is essentially a postcolonial vision of the world as expressed by Robert Young: "Postcolonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being."⁴⁶⁴ To engage in creating such a world wherein such possibilities can be realized for all people, Soelle avers that mysticism

⁴⁶³ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 21.

⁴⁶⁴ Young, *Post-Colonialism: A Very Short Introduction*, 2.

interprets the traditional teaching of humanity being made in the image of God as an invitation to engage in the process of creation.⁴⁶⁵ In this sense creation is a *creatio continua*. Humanity participates in it together with God and thereby affirm the dignity of all humans. The happiness that mystical experiences offer one does not merely enlarge one's emotional capacity; it also enlarges one's social capacity to better the world as a partner with God.

Postcolonialism and mysticism, moreover, are both concerned with the use of language. The language of mysticism is resistant to the absolutist language of fundamentalism. Fundamentalists shy away from experience. They fixate on positive religion in the form of sacred texts and rituals given an imprimatur by a judicatory. Their trust in language is most implicit. It is in the use of language that the resistance of mysticism clearly comes through. For mystics, language is inadequate. As a feminist, language for Soelle has been used as a source of domination.⁴⁶⁶ It is in the area of language postcolonial theory shares with feminism and mysticism the reality of being wary of the language of domination. The language of domination is not merely expressed in the articulation of gender roles; it is also present in the use of the symbolism of a religious system. Metaphors of light and darkness can make one averse to chaos and the possibilities that emerge out of the darkness of chaos as Catherine Keller demonstrates in her work *The Face of the Deep: A Theology of Becoming*. Mysticism resists the use of language in an univocal sense. According to Soelle, it proffers a new language that would enable it to engage “the cloud of unknowing.”⁴⁶⁷ Mystical language goes beyond a language that acquires and dominates. It would be a language that gathers one “in the now.”⁴⁶⁸ It would take on a celebrative tone, not the tone of intellectual blood sport of power over others. It would be a

⁴⁶⁵ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 43.

⁴⁶⁶ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 59.

⁴⁶⁷ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 59.

⁴⁶⁸ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 61.

language that would be able to lament and hold in abeyance life's mysteries, not asking for a why and wherefore.⁴⁶⁹ For Soelle, mystics resist the language of the world informed by hierarchy and order.

Accordingly, mystics follow the way of apophysis. Deriving from Dionysius the Areopagite, apophysis means without speech or symbols. Kataphasis means according to speech or symbol. Apophysis humbles religious speech, declaring that it cannot exhaust God. It is resistant to the univocal, linguistic arrangements in doctrine and ritual that people take for granted as deriving from God. Apophysis is the language of mystic resistance as it limits the power of kataphatic productions and resists any communication about God that does not allow for not knowing.⁴⁷⁰ According to Soelle, together with apophysis, silence forms a key *Leitmotif* of mystical language. The mystic seeks to resist the flood of words, concepts and images. From a postcolonial perspective, avoiding such a flood takes on special significance, as an inundation of words has been the source of imperial domination. As noted earlier in this dissertation, the use of armed soldiers is not an effective long-term solution to imperial domination; it is too costly. Pressing an ideology onto a subjugated people and getting them to believe that ideology is a more cost-effective form of control and domination. The propagation of an ideology that says that white is good and black is evil is most pernicious. Colonization, moreover, has had a most vicious effect on the black race. According to Frantz Fanon, the flood of words of the ideology of colonization has created a neurosis of sorts. It is played out in the subjugated black mind as a futile attempt to prove to their white overlords that blacks are not animals.⁴⁷¹ Language is vital for Fanon's project of decolonization and healing of the black psyche from the wounds of

⁴⁶⁹ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 62.

⁴⁷⁰ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 67.

⁴⁷¹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, incorporated), 8.

colonization. Language is a phenomenon that exists for the other. It is the medium through which one receives a culture and promulgates it to subsequent generations. Blacks' use of the language of the colonizers reveals the reality of a dual consciousness at work. There is the King's English for the colonizers and there is the dialect for insiders only. Accordingly, the resistant mystic also takes language seriously, for words can pass on a worldview that is informed by domination. The mystic seeks a method of shutting off language, at the very least ignoring it. This is the project of contemplation. The person versed in contemplation knows that one cannot shut off the ubiquity of words. One can, however, ignore them by focusing on something else. According to Soelle, the mystic engages silence for *oratio infusa*, the prayer infused by God that brings with it the healing tide that washes away the hurtful words of a culture informed by domination.⁴⁷² It is not merely the subjugated peoples of the colonized parts of the world who need healing from colonization, so do the people living in the colonizing empires and who have reaped the material benefits of imperial subjugation around the world. Healing is the moral imperative of every human for oneself and for others. It begins with getting a handle on spoken language and the conceptual language of the psyche.

Mysticism, furthermore, limits the power of language through the concept of *docta ignorantia*, Nicolas Cusa's take on negative theology.⁴⁷³ "Sacred ignorance" hovers over the predicates of finitude that seek to fix ultimate meaning.⁴⁷⁴ According to Keller, sacred ignorance anticipates the third space of postcolonial theory insofar as the language of the oppressors is not absolutized in that space; it is resisted. This resistance forged in the in-between spaces occasions the oppressed forging their own identity through their own language. That which is not

⁴⁷² Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 71.

⁴⁷³ Catherine Keller, *The Face of the Deep: A Theology of Becoming* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 13.

⁴⁷⁴ Keller, *The Face of the Deep*, 13.

absolutized opens up other possibilities for actualization. *Docta ignorantia* creates, then, a zone of freedom, a sacred space where the subjugated can affirm their humanity. Such zones of freedom were opened up to women mystics in the medieval era. The resisting female mystics in the medieval 14th century confronted scholastic thinking as a male endeavor which stood on clay feet. They understood scholasticism to be an arrogance of the intellect, which was solely the male sphere of operation. Nevertheless, some sensitive men despaired of the intellectualism of the scholastics. Thomas Aquinas, in the end, had a mystical experience that impelled him to jettison his previous work. From their zone of freedom, their third space forged by *docta ignorantia*, women mystics produced brilliant literary works of which the Beguines are illustrative. In the final chapter I shall consider the life and teaching of one such Beguine, namely Marguerite Porete.

In *Toward a Process Pneumatology*, Blair Reynolds posits that Dionysius not only proffered a *via negativa*, which is where many theologians with mystical proclivities are wont to stop.⁴⁷⁵ He also spoke of an affirmative theology, *via positiva*. Whether a theology is deemed positive or negative is a matter of perspective.⁴⁷⁶ When theological discourse moves from the creature to the creator, from the inferior to the superior, then the language is negative. By the same token, if the discussion is from the creator to the creature, from heaven to earth, then that is the subject matter of an affirmative theology. For Reynolds, affirmative theology is world affirming. The Christian doctrine of the incarnation is illustrative of a world-affirming theology, wherein the divine takes on human flesh. For Reynolds, this is akin to Whitehead's ontological principle of the unity of God and the world.

⁴⁷⁵ Blair Reynolds, *Toward a Process Pneumatology* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1990), 47.

⁴⁷⁶ Reynolds, *Toward a Process Pneumatology*, 47.

Salvation for Dionysius, moreover, is a return to God, from whom the creature came. All things came from God and they shall return to God.⁴⁷⁷ In Dionysius' concept of salvation as a return to God, Reynolds sees as analogous to Whitehead's claim that "every actuality in the temporal world has its reception in God's nature."⁴⁷⁸ This is a world affirming idea of God's relation to the world. This affirmative theology and the world-affirming stance it fosters would produce a hermeneutic that is less suspicious. According to Soelle, the First World needs a *quasi* Third World hermeneutic that is more open to the sacred texts and more open to experience. A postcolonial mysticism, then, will move away from a hermeneutic of suspicion that has been the approach of liberation and feminist theologies to the text. Negative theology has assisted these theologies in their necessary critical task. There is, however, an affirmative theology, a positive theology, that affirms the ontological tie of God as light to a dark world, for God knows darkness, is operative in it as light, as Daniel says in chapter 2 in the Book of Daniel. For Reynolds, negative theology proves impractical here.⁴⁷⁹ One cannot make sense of an intangible God. As a critical tool limiting theological language, negative theology plays a vital role. As a theology that impels one to appreciate the ontological unity of God and creation, negative theology is useless. Texts, then, are empowering.⁴⁸⁰ Soelle says as the Third World hungers for physical bread so the First World hungers for a spirituality in the form of sacred texts and mystical experiences.⁴⁸¹ Daniel is the epitome of one who values both sacred texts and mystical experiences.

⁴⁷⁷ Reynolds, *Toward a Process Pneumatology*, 48.

⁴⁷⁸ Reynolds, *Toward a Process Pneumatology*, 48.

⁴⁷⁹ Reynolds, *Toward a Process Pneumatology*, 49.

⁴⁸⁰ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 68.

⁴⁸¹ Soelle, *The Silent Cry*, 48.

In Daniel 7:1 - 14, God gave Daniel a vision in which he sees four empires emerging from the sea. The sea could mean the Mediterranean Sea. It is also the primordial sea, the chaotic waters from which the original creation emerged and continues to emerge, as the work of creation continues. Relative to the primordiality, the sea (**תְּהִימָה**) and the deep (**מֵתַחַת**) are essentially synonymous. Hermann Gunkel sought the origin of the sea in the Babylonian creation story the *Eluma Elish*. Since the discovery of Ugaritic texts in 1929, his thesis is no longer relevant.⁴⁸² The source for the sea and the deep is closer to home in Canaan and the Bible itself.

In Genesis 7:11, the fountains of the great deep burst forth to flood the land that had become polluted with sin. The holding back of the great deep is a work of God, who creates space for life. God orders and structures the waters of the great deep to make life possible. God also releases such chaotic waters to destroy life, to punish, to deconstruct in order to reconstruct.

In the 51st chapter of his work, the prophet Isaiah recounts that it was God who dried the sea, the waters of the great deep. Isaiah brings together sea and deep as chaotic powers over which God is active. The prophet Amos was told of an impending fire of judgment that would devour even the great deep (Amos 7:4). These texts demonstrate that God is active in the waters of the deep either to facilitate life or to punish it. Genesis 1:2b, God's Spirit hovers over the face of the waters. God orders the chaotic waters of the deep to structure life. In Daniel's vision, God allowed the monsters to emerge from the sea. For Daniel, God is sovereign. God controls all the possibilities of life, as all such possibilities, constructive or destructive, emerge from the primordial sea.

⁴⁸² John Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 281.

In the Ugaritic texts, there is conflict between Baal and Yamm.⁴⁸³ According to the Ugaritic myth, Yamm (“sea”) sends an emissary to El, the leader of the divine pantheon, demanding that Baal be given over to him.⁴⁸⁴ The gods are intimidated by Yamm; they comply. But, Baal resists. A struggle ensues between them. Baal, the rider on the clouds, is given clubs with which to kill Yamm. Baal kills Yamm. Astarte instructs Baal to scatter Yamm. Marvin Sweeney identifies this same conflict in various places in the Hebrew Bible as the mythical combat over chaos that is prevalent throughout biblical literature.⁴⁸⁵ The key point of comparison between the Bible and the Ugaritic story of Baal and Yamm is conflict. *YHWH* defeats the Egyptians at the Red Sea. According to Sweeney, God defeats the mythological sea monsters Leviathan, Rahab and Behemoth.⁴⁸⁶

In Daniel’s vision, the stirring of the waters is what enables the monsters to emerge from the chaotic waters. In the biblical tradition, the winds order the chaos, as the wind/Spirit of God hovered over the waters. Job 26:12 - 13a denotes the power of the wind to structure the chaos of the sea. “By God’s power the sea was stilled; by God’s understanding Rahab was subdued. By God’s wind the heavens were made fair.” God controls the chaos to facilitate life. The winds are the medium through which God quickens the chaos to life. God pushes the primordial chaos to an ordered cosmos.⁴⁸⁷

The creator and the creature surveyed in the above paragraphs do not get at how God is related to the creation that God produces, or the creation for which God fights to order the chaos.

⁴⁸³ John Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Boston: Brill Academic, 2001), 144.

⁴⁸⁴ Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, 143.

⁴⁸⁵ Marvin Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2010), 268.

⁴⁸⁶ Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature*, 268.

⁴⁸⁷ Frank Gorman, “The Priestly Rituals of Founding: Time, Space, and Ritual,” in *Cult and Cosmos: Tilting toward a Temple-Centered Theology*, ed. Michael Morales (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2014), 354

Is God independent of that creation, totally transcendent? Or, is God essentially related to the creation? Do God and creation signal one reality, though different aspects of that one reality of life. Mysticism desires an intimacy between God and creation that theology with its logocentric methods would never posit. The Abrahamic religions have sought to protect the prerogatives of an all-powerful God independent of creation through the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. It was to serve as a hedge against the slippery slope of pantheism. According Catherine Keller, the *creatio ex nihilo* is the product of “tehomphobism.” *Tehom* is the Hebrew word “deep” in Genesis 1:2.⁴⁸⁸ The deep is a metaphor for chaos to be mastered. *Creatio ex nihilo* is the epitome of domination theology. Any suggestion in the text that God associates with the deep and chaos to create and to continue to create through the bestowal of possibilities is shut out through the concept of *creatio ex nihilo*. Soelle suggests *creatio ex nihilo* is not world affirming. God is separated from the world to dominate the world. Postcolonial mysticism would have trouble with this conception of creation as well.

Keller suggests, moreover, that the origin of the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* derives from the Gnostic milieu, which was hyper Greek in privileging the spirit over the body. A resistant mysticism rejects this bifurcation of reality, seeking instead a holistic vision of humanity where both the body and spirit are valued. Mysticism that resists would also seek to jettison *creatio ex nihilo* and the separation that it creates between the creator and the creature. A postcolonial mysticism would proffer instead a panentheistic vision of the relationship between the creator and creature in the world affirming way that Whitehead construes it. God is essentially related to

⁴⁸⁸ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 17.

the world, continually offering it possibilities to structure chaos, to order it. At issue is whether one constantly fights chaos to order it, as is demonstrated in the previous paragraphs.

Postcolonial mysticism is both resistant to the world as it is presently unjustly constituted and yet affirming of the world as a place rife with possibilities for justice and righteousness for all people. A postcolonial mysticism, then, is characterized by becoming. The reality of becoming is essentially resistance.

The metaphors of chaos are darkness, profundity, and fluidity. In the West, these metaphors are not looked upon kindly inasmuch as chaos is not anything to be appreciated according to Catherine Keller. Informed by a domination ethic, people in the West have long seen themselves as masters of chaos; it is something to be controlled. Chaos is certainly not to be interpreted as a wellspring from which possibilities arise. Chaos is associated with the nonwesteners to be exploited.⁴⁸⁹ Keller, accordingly, forges a tehomic discourse in her work. In a Cusa-like statement, Keller says, “If the tehomic infinite exists, it does so only in the materializing of finitudes.” From *tehom* comes life, specifically the possibilities for life.

According to Keller, in the creation story in Genesis there is an uneasy darkness between the phrases “In the beginning God created the heaven and earth” and “God said, ‘Let there be light.’”⁴⁹⁰ *Tehom* is for Keller the creative matrix out of which creation becomes and continues to become *ad infinitum*. Creation is what Keller calls an “open infinity” that becomes the matrix out of which the possibilities of life emerge. Creatures actualize these possibilities as their own. And, what they fail to achieve through the actualization of the possibilities are returned to the matrix. Keller notes this is a paraphrase of Whitehead’s principle of relativity. Quoting

⁴⁸⁹ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 6.

⁴⁹⁰ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 9.

Whitehead, she says, “It belongs to the nature of a being that it is a potential for every being.”⁴⁹¹ This is a satisfying metaphysic inasmuch as it deconstructs the dualism of Platonism, which has led to the denigration of the body in pursuit of the perfect actualized spirit.⁴⁹² It places everyone into a mutuality of interdependence. “The many become the one and is increased by one.” This is Whitehead’s way of saying many factors go into the making of every human. Every human receives the influences of those factors and adds something to them. They, then, pass them along to someone else. To push a people out of this mutuality through segregation or apartheid is to commit a grave sin.

Speaking of Alfred Whitehead, it is the thesis of this chapter that Whitehead provides postcolonial mysticism with the conceptual language to make sense of God’s essential relationship to the world as the continuing creative force behind the world as light. Becoming is the epiphenomenon of this essential relationship. Becoming is fundamentally resistant to reality as it is constituted. Joseph Bracken, a key interpreter of Whitehead, says for Whitehead creativity does not exist in and of itself: It is essentially nothing. It is made actual in the accidents and instantiations of life.⁴⁹³ Creativity is not an entity existing independently of other entities, ruling them as a power over them; it is not a transcendent reality, not relatable. Humans do not care a whit about what is not relatable. Creativity is a relatable process. As a process it is an activity inherent in all beings, as the divine being is essentially related to the world. It is in the process of activity that creativity is actualized. In *Process and Reality*, Whitehead calls creativity the ultimate.⁴⁹⁴ Whitehead couples with creativity the extensive continuum, which is

⁴⁹¹ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 13.

⁴⁹² Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 13.

⁴⁹³ Joseph Bracken, *The Divine Matrix: Creativity as Link between East and West* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 1995), 57.

⁴⁹⁴ Alfred North Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, eds. David Ray Griffin and Donald W. Sherburne (New York: The Free Press, 1978), 27.

the *locus* of relationality for God and all actualities. Creativity and the extensive continuum form the organic nature of the universe. According to Bracken, the notion of creativity as infinite and transcendent to the universe yet immanent in it can be found in many religious traditions.

Among Christians, moreover, creativity and the extensive continuum as transcendent yet immanent can be found in Thomas Aquinas in an implicit way and in a most explicit way in John Scotus Eriugena, as he clearly distinguishes between the revealed God of scriptures and God in God's self as *natura*, or using Meister Eckhart's nomenclature: *deitas* or *Gottheit*. This hidden God, God in God's self, cannot be predicated; it exists above being. It transcends the universe; yet, it is immanent in the universe and being actualized by it. Bracken believes that if religious adherents would reflect deeply on their traditions, they may come into contact with the God who is like Whitehead's creativity and extensive continuum. If that occurred on a significant level, then world peace may be enhanced, as much strife in the world is due to religious particularities that people have sacralized and universalized to the point of dehumanizing others. Creativity as ultimate would signal that being is process; being is essentially an activity from which it is receiving constantly from others in a context of relationality. Being is not status quo. Whitehead proffers a nonsubstantialist view of God that is inviting to mystics. This nonsubstantialist view of God can be found in various religious traditions, often promulgated by thinkers wanting to be open to the mystery that is life and yet humble relative to the reach of their articulations about that mystery.

Kabbalism offers a nonsubstantialist view of God. Emerging in the 13th century of the common era, Kabbalism has features like Whitehead's creativity and extensive continuum. There are Kabbalist thinkers who reflect on God in a nonsubstantialist vein. The Sefirot in

Kabbalism signify places of the emanation of the power, life and activity of God, the creativity of God.⁴⁹⁵ Before there is emanation or self-disclosure of the divine in the Sefirot, Ein-Sof is the hidden God who cannot be predicated in any way. The hidden God pierces the shell of its solitude and communicates something of the divine to the Sefirot. The Sefirot constitute ten emanations as the context in which God gets actualized in the world. According to Gershom Scholem, the divine life pulsates back and forth in the Sefirot.⁴⁹⁶ Scholem would warn that the Sefirot are not an intermediary between God and the world. They actualize divine life. This is creativity. It is out of the mystical nothingness, the Ein-Sof, that the universe is created. The Kabbalist scheme of the Ein-Sof as the unpredictable God in God's self and the emanations of the Sefirot are like Whitehead's notion of creativity and the extensive continuum. The Sefirot are the *locus* of relationality like Whitehead's extensive continuum. The actualization of God and all actualities occur in the context of relationality.

According to Catherine Keller, moreover, in the West, *tehom* as chaos is negative; in the East, however, chaos is the cornucopia out of which life springs forth and continues to become for eternity. As noted in the above, monotheistic expressions, protecting God in God's aseity, unrelatedness to the world, rely on the *creatio ex nihilo*. There is fear in the West about the deep, the dark and the silence in the tehomic moment. Theology as informed by Greek conceptual language is afraid of the deep, dark abyss. Genesis, according to Keller, is not afraid of the deep, dark abyss. In the Hebrew Bible there are passages that are phobic about the deep and there are others that are not. Psalm 74:13 - 14, according to Keller, is a passage that is tehomphobic⁴⁹⁷: "You divided the sea by your might; you broke the head of the sea monsters on

⁴⁹⁵ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schoken Books, 1974), 206.

⁴⁹⁶ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 224.

⁴⁹⁷ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 26.

the waters. You crushed the heads of Leviathan; you gave him as food the creatures of the wilderness.” Psalm 104:24 - 26, like Genesis 1:2, is kindly-disposed toward the depth: “O Lord, how wonderful are your works! In wisdom have you made them all; the earth is full of your creatures. Here is the sea, great and wide, which teems with creatures innumerable, living things both small and great. There go the ships, and Leviathan, which you formed to play with.” For Keller, out of this openness to the deep and abysmal chaos a “tehomic ethic” emerges: love means bearing with chaos.⁴⁹⁸ In Keller’s view, it does not mean that one loves chaos or likes it; one, however, recognizes in chaos the unformed future. Speaking further of the ethical dimensions of a tehomic theology of becoming, for Keller sin is not just a matter of bad choices, but the capacity to choose.⁴⁹⁹

Keller says, “The divine ocean, the infinite, permeates all finitude, utterly soaks and saturates the creation, God-in-all and all-in-God.”⁵⁰⁰ Like Whitehead, Keller posits an ontological connection between God and creation. God is not merely the source of creation’s being or the ground of its being. God is the source of creation’s ever becoming. Becoming naturally resists essentialism, substantive thinking or being in itself—all nomenclature that theologies of domination have used to justify the subjugation of women and the darker races. Nothing can be merely for itself. It is an occasion for another’s becoming. Mysticism informed by such an ontology and metaphysics is a postcolonial mysticism that resists the status quo, especially where it is oppressive and vitiates a people’s participation in a mutual relativity that contours their full humanity in courage, whereby they transcend chaos. God does not take people out of chaos. It is a deficient spirituality that invites people to run and hide from it. At

⁴⁹⁸ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 29.

⁴⁹⁹ Keller, *Face of the Deep*., 80.

⁵⁰⁰ Keller, *Face of the Deep*, 81.

issue is whether those who desire to be faithful to God can face the chaos with a sense of transcendence. Mystical experiences produced in their *via mystica* empower subjugated people to transcend chaos. Relative to the chaos of the deep, it is not important whether one is tehomphobic or tehomphilic, but whether one transcends it. The thesis of the next chapter is that the son of Adam is a symbol of that transcendence. The son of Adam is first and foremost the decolonized high priest. The son of Adam is also the transcendent, mystical self.

Chapter 9

THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF THE SON OF ADAM, THE DECOLONIZED HIGH PRIEST

Making sense of the son of Adam has been a cottage industry unto itself within the Book of Daniel. Trying to figure out the identity of the שֶׁבֶת אָנוֹשׁ, scholars have written voluminously. Candidates for *bar Enosh* (son of Adam) have been Moses, Judas Maccabeus, Daniel himself, the faithful remnant, angels, or a semi-divine, primordial figure. The thesis of this chapter is that the son of Adam is first of all the high priest. It is the high priest in his rightful role as the bearer of Torah for the people of God. Once a year on *Yom Kippur* the high priest enters the *sanctum sanctorum* to hear from God, in order to instruct the people. The son of Adam before the Ancient of Days is the high priest standing in the *kavod* of the throne of God. This makes the office a divine one, a holy one. This essential function of the high priest had been vitiated by the Hellenists who bought and sold the office. The office was victimized by Greek colonization and subsequent Roman colonization. Actually, however, the office had begun to be a victim of imperialism beginning in 587 B.C.E. when the Babylonians carted away the intelligentsia of Jerusalem. It continued to be a victim of imperialism under the Persians, Greeks, Hasmoneans and Romans. Imperial interference into the office of the high priest reached its nadir when the Romans kept the high priest's vestments under lock and key to control the Jewish people.

In this chapter, I shall attempt to do five things. First of all, I shall denote the ancient Near East background of the concept of the son of Adam. I shall then consider its biblical background. I shall denote Daniel's use of the phrase son of Adam. Fourthly, I shall engage the postcolonial topic of contrapuntal reading. On the synchronic level, Daniel's use of the son of Adam is an intertextual, contrapuntal reading over against the suffering servant of Isaiah 52:13 -

53. If the suffering servant of Isaiah is the colonized high priest, representing his people in lowliness, in colonization, then the son of Adam in Daniel before the throne of God is the decolonized high priest representing his people in glory. Finally, I shall investigate the mystical possibilities of the concept of the son of Adam as a transcendent experience of anyone who decolonizes himself/herself through mysticism. The son of Adam is the experience of one's true self before God.

Andre' Lacocque calls the son of Adam the "primordial sage."⁵⁰¹ According to Lacocque, as Antiochus IV epitomizes evil, life away from God, though even he is not free of the sovereignty of God, so the son of Adam epitomizes righteousness before God. Victory over chaos and evil is a collaborative effort between God and humans. As God and humans are in a mutual relationship informed by *hesed*, they work together. Though apocalypticism produces the idea of the overwhelming transcendence of God over against the created order as the implicit and explicit force behind the actors on the human stage, Daniel's son of Adam illustrates the connectivity of God and humans. There is a transcendent dimension in which humans participate, a dimension open to them through their faithfulness. God must have faithful actors through whom to work in God's cosmic battle against evil articulated in empire. God must have mediators through whom to work. The primary mediator is the rightly-ordered high priesthood. Christopher Morray-Jones posits that the glory of the celestial Adam, the primordial one, was embodied in the person of the high priest.⁵⁰² The vestments of the high priest revealed the glory of the primordial one, the son of man, the son of Adam. The concept of the son of man is the

⁵⁰¹ Andre' Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, translated by David Pellauner (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1979), 128.

⁵⁰² Christopher R.A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within," in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, ed. April D. DeConick (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 165.

meeting point of the human and divine dimensions. In Daniel, the son of Adam is not merely a transcendent figure; he is also a human figure in the person of the high priest. He is not merely a human figure in the person of the high priest; he is also a divine, transcendent figure. He is not one or the other. He is both/and. Such paradoxical thinking is in keeping with the spiritual dynamism of the Book of Daniel as a hybrid and mystical book. In this sense, Daniel is a most complex work. Interpreters go awry when they privilege one reality over another. The community of Qumran saw their community in worship as comprised of both humans and angels.⁵⁰³ This, moreover, is in keeping with both the ancient Near Eastern and biblical background of the concept of son of man.

According to Frederick Borsch, behind the idea of the ideal king, the ideal prophet and the ideal priest is the primordial man.⁵⁰⁴ The primordial man is the royal God-man, the son of God who is especially manifested in kings.⁵⁰⁵ As the outward manifestation of the primordial man, the son of God, the king was a source of prosperity and stability in the face of chaos and the centrifugal forces of life. As God's embodiment on earth, the king was the chief celebrant at the annual festival taking place at one of the equinoxes.⁵⁰⁶ Such festivals were meant to occasion the seeking of divine favor for good crops and for the optimal conditions for life. The king was the fulcrum point between the people and God in a yearly renewal of creation over the forces of chaos. As such, the king was the chief priest and actor in the vanquishing of chaos and the renewal of creation. Typically, according to Borsch, the creation story was read and ritually reenacted by the king. In the ritual, the participants' perceptions were suspended, as the

⁵⁰³ Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 131.

⁵⁰⁴ Frederick Houk Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1967), 89.

⁵⁰⁵ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 89.

⁵⁰⁶ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 92.

distinctions between heaven and earth melted away. The king and king-god became one.⁵⁰⁷ It is in the cultic context that the roles of God and the king as cultic leader gets fused. Generally speaking, according to Borsch, in any given ancient Near Eastern creation story that gets reenacted at a seasonal festival follows the same pattern⁵⁰⁸: 1) the festival of the recreation of the world; 2) the king fights the creation battle against the forces of darkness, evil and chaos. In the process of doing so, the king gets hurt, falls, gets mortally wounded. 3) the king cries out; his cries are heard. He is saved, empowered, risen, at which point is read the oracle proclaiming God's favor toward the king; 4) the king is anointed and enthroned; his holy regalia are placed back on him; and 5) there is rejoicing. The cycle is ready to repeat itself.

Though influenced by its ancient Near Eastern context, the Israelite conception of the king stressed the king's humanity, not his divinity.⁵⁰⁹ Yet, at some place along the same divine/human continuum, the Israelite king was heralded as the son of God, ruling at God's right hand. According to Psalm 110:3, the birth of the king becomes significant as God's birthing of the king:

עַמְקָה נִרְבָּת בְּיוֹם תִּילְגֵּךְ בְּהַדְרֵי־קָרְשׁ מִרְחָם מִשְׁחָר לְכָךְ טָל יְלָדֶתֶךְ :

“Your people give freewill offerings on the day of your strength, in holy garments from dawn; the mist of your youth belongs to you.” LXX: μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησιν τῶν ἀγίων· ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἔωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε. “After your beginning on the day of your power among the luminaries of the holy ones; before the morning star I birthed you in the womb.” V: *Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae; in splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante luciferum genui te.* “Your beginning on the day of your power; among

⁵⁰⁷ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 93.

⁵⁰⁸ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 94.

⁵⁰⁹ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 108.

the luminaries of the holy ones I birthed you from the womb before the morning star.” I gave the MT, the LXX and the V to illustrate how the MT has bedeviled translators. The LXX does not know what to do with the **נְבָתָה עַמּוֹק** so it drops it. The Latin follows suit. “The day of strength” is the birth of the king, not the mustering of troops for battle as some translations convey.⁵¹⁰ The point of the text is that the birth of the king has both a human dimension and a divine one in the primordial world where the primordial one resides with the angelic council, which constitutes the luminaries. The king’s birth has a divine origin. Borsch: “Even in Israel the king’s birth occurs in primordial time. It can be described as like a sunrise and regarded as divine in origin. He is the father from eternity; he may be called a god (Ps. 45:6). He is regarded as the son of God. (2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 89:26f.)”⁵¹¹

As the king has a dual generation, Adam does as well. In Genesis 2 - 3, Adam is the “mythical royal man.”⁵¹² Adam has a generation from the dust of the earth; he also has a divine generation when the breath of God is placed in his lungs. Adam is given Eve as a consort from whom all humans derive. Adam and Eve rule over paradise where are present the tree of life and the river of the waters of life. Paradise is a garden, the garden of God. Paradise derives from Persian. It means “park,” “garden.” Paradise is the garden of God. The Temple complex was to exemplify the garden of God. The Temple was a microcosm of God’s garden. The high priest as the embodiment of Adam, the primordial man, was to care for the temple at the behest of God.

⁵¹⁰ King James Version: “Your people will be willing on the day of your battle.” English Standard Version: “On the day that you lead your forces” as an alternative reading in the footnote.

⁵¹¹ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 112.

⁵¹² Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 113,

A survey of son of man in various biblical texts as applied to humanity in general yields there are both positive and negative connotations, as well as neutral ones.⁵¹³ Psalm 8 demonstrates a positive rendering of son of man as the object of God's loving and providential care. The Psalmist is fascinated by the fact that though God's sovereignty extends over the whole cosmos, yet God pays attention to humans, who are mud people in comparison to the majesty of the heavens. Psalm 82 calls humans gods, sons of the Most High. Psalms 107 and 144 continue in the same positive vein.

Job 25:6, however, calls the son of man a worm, a maggot even. The negative casting of the son of man denotes the frailty of humans. Humans are weak, transient and all too prone to sin and fail. According to Chrys Caragounis, it is in the context of rebellion against God that the negative hues of son of man find their origin. The texts that bespeak this rebellion against God are Genesis 5:3; 6:1 - 7; and Genesis 11. Caragounis says, "Man is man as created by God; son of man is man in his estrangement from God: he is man subjected to frailty and decay, man whom only God can restore."⁵¹⁴ Humans are created in God's image. Humans alienated from God, however, are prone to failure. Caragounis presses this theological interpretation of the son of man as a foil against son of man as a "poetic circumlocution" for the first-person pronoun. Already in the early 19th century, according to Caragounis, David Strauss, a most liberal critic of the Bible, rejected the idea of the son of man as a mere circumlocution for the first-person pronoun.⁵¹⁵

For the prophet Ezekiel, son of man does not possess any negative connotations. In chapter one of his work, the prophet has a vision of God on God's chariot. The vision of God is

⁵¹³ Chrys Caragounis, *The Son of Man: Vision and Interpretation* (Germany: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), 55.

⁵¹⁴ Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, 58.

⁵¹⁵ Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, 11.

so overwhelming that he falls on his face. The vision is of God in human likeness. Inasmuch as humans are created in the image of God, God should look like them. God in the likeness of a human is seated on the throne. The first words of address from God to the prophet are: בָּנֵן אָדָם “son of Adam,” “son of man.” As the son of man, Ezekiel is sent as an emissary to his people to be a watchman, to warn them of the consequences of their sin. He will articulate this message not just with words but with his body as well. Whenever God communicates to him, he is addressed as son of man. He stands in the stead of his people; he represents them before God and God before his people. Caragounis calls Ezekiel God’s “servant prophet,” who gives God’s message to God’s people. He suffers to do so. In Ezekiel, God in the likeness of a human is coupled with Ezekiel as son of man. The two concepts are adjacent to each other.⁵¹⁶ The two realities inform each other; the two realities need each other. They are in a relationship of mutuality. God has a real partner in Ezekiel as the son of man. There is both a human and a divine dimension to this pairing. It is not without precedent, as seen both in the ancient Near East and the biblical milieu. The high priest in Daniel is informed by the precedent. But, before returning to Daniel, it will be instructive to see how 1 Enoch 46:1 - 5 understands the concept of son of man. I shall do a form critical treatment of this text that is key to understanding the concept of the son of man.

The following is George Nickelsburg’s translation of 1Enoch 46:1 - 5 from the Ethiopic.⁵¹⁷

- 1) There I saw one who had a head of days, and his head was like white wool. And with him was another, whose face was like the appearance of a man; and his face was full of graciousness like one

⁵¹⁶ Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 138.

⁵¹⁷ George Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 153.

of the holy angels.

- 2) And I asked the angel of peace, who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, about the son of man—who he was and whence he was (and) why he went with the Head of Days.
- 3) And he answered me and said to me, “This is the son of man who has righteousness, and righteousness dwells with him, and all the treasures of what is hidden he will reveal; for the Lord of the Spirits has chosen him, and his lot has prevailed through truth in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits forever.
- 4) And this son of man whom you have seen—he will raise the kings and mighty from their couches, and the strong from their thrones. He will loosen the reigns of the strong, and he will crush the teeth of sinners.
- 5) He will overturn the kings from their thrones and from their kingdoms, because they do not exalt him or praise him, or humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was given to them.

Structural Analysis

- I. The Introduction of the Protagonists: verse 1
 - A. The Seer Enoch.
 - B. First Divine Figure Characterized as Having Head of Days.
 1. His was like white wool.
 - C. Second Divine Figure Whose Face was Like the Appearance of a Man.

1. His face was full of graciousness.
2. His face was like that of one of the holy angels.

II. The Query: verse 2

- A. The Seer Asks a Question During the Vision.
1. The angel of peace was his guide.
 2. The angel of peace revealed the hidden things, secret things.
- B. The Seer Wants to Know About “That Son of Man.”
1. Who was the son of man?
 2. From whence was the son of man?
 3. Why was the son of man with the Head of Days?

III. The Answer: verses 3, 4 and 5

- A. The Accompanying Angel Answers the Seer’s Question.
1. The one who accompanies the Head of Days is the son of man.
 - a. He is righteousness.
 - b. Righteousness dwells with him.
 - c. He will reveal all hidden or secret treasures.
 - d. He has been chosen by the Lord of Spirits.
 - e. His lot prevails through truth in the presence of
of the Lord of Spirits forever.
 2. The eschatological mission of judgment of the son of man.
 - a. He will raise kings and the mighty from their couches.
 - b. He will raise the strong from their thrones.
 - c. He will loosen the reigns of the strong.
 - d. He will crush the teeth of sinners.

3. The Rationale for the judgment against the mighty.

- a. They do not exalt the son of man or praise him.
- b. They do not humbly acknowledge that their kingdom was given to them.

By way of general comments, the Enoch *corpus* comprises 1 Enoch, which is a compilation of works from the 4th to the 1st century B.C.E. *The Book of the Watchers* (chapters 1 - 36) and *The Astronomical Book* (chapters 72 - 82) derive sometime during the Ptolemaic period.⁵¹⁸ *The Parables of Enoch* or *The Similitudes of Enoch* (chapters 37 - 71) have a provenance in the 1st century during the Roman Empire's initial introduction into Palestine. According to Grabbe, 1 Enoch is the epitome of a developed apocalypse that has combined the various motifs that comprise the genre of apocalypse, namely a radical, dualistic apocalyptic, wisdom, mantic wisdom, tours of heaven, angelology, demonology, and protological and eschatological mythologies. The concept of a soul surviving death in 1 Enoch is one of the first in Jewish writings.⁵¹⁹

According to Anathea Portier -Young, the writers of the Enoch *corpus* are not simpletons living on the periphery of society. Though they are members of a repressed group at odds with the ruling class, they served it with their intelligence and skill. They are of the elite. The writers possessed great knowledge as their writing attests to a diverse, profound multicultural exposure.⁵²⁰ The authors of the various sections of Enoch allude to a variety of scriptural texts,

⁵¹⁸ Lester Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 41.

⁵¹⁹ Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 41.

⁵²⁰ Anathea E. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2011), 1.

which they repurpose in their agenda of bolstering the spirits and confidence of their people in situations of repression. The authors, moreover, are conversant in Greek mythology and Greek wisdom. And, they assimilated and adapted forms of Babylonian learning in the forms of mathematics, science (astronomy) and mythology. The writers of all three parts of I Enoch *corpus* are from a class of scribes, sages and priests.

I Enoch had the status of scripture at Qumran, though *The Parables of Enoch* (chapters 37 - 71) are not extant there. The Jewish Christian community to which the Book of Jude is addressed also held 1 Enoch as authoritative scripture, as the author quotes from it. And, for the Ethiopian Church 1 Enoch is canonical. In fact, *The Parables of Enoch* are extant only in Ethiopic.

The office of high priest took on greater political and religious significance during the Ptolemaic period.⁵²¹ This development has its roots in the postexilic period when the Persians sponsored the rebuilding of the Second Temple to organize the Jehud providence, inasmuch as its importance lay in the fact it sat on the major trade route south to Egypt. By the end of the Ptolemaic era, the high priest is the leader of the Jewish nation in a *quasi*-medieval ethnoarch sense.

Sections of 1 Enoch, written by 200 B.C.E., reveal a group that used a solar calendar (1 Enoch 72 - 82). The calendar used at the temple would have been a lunar one. Arguments over the measurement of time had profound religious and political consequences, for they challenged the foundation of the lunar-based religion of Judaism. Parts of 1 Enoch derives from this era where one can detect contention in the priestly circle. Factions and dissensions abound. The

⁵²¹ Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 52.

writer of 1 Enoch demonstrates the intellectual skill of one who may have been a member of the priestly community. He may have been a member of a dissident group in that community.

There was an abundance of priests, according to Lester Grabbe, more than needed to service the temple.⁵²² Accordingly, sectarian movements during this period may have been led by priests to procure and protect their interests. As an abundance of lawyers has made the United States the litigious society that it is, so an abundance of priests may have fueled sectarian movements of one kind or another in the Ptolemaic period.

The author of *The Parables of Enoch* (chapters 37 - 71) may also have been a member of a dissident group that was at odds with the temple and the political intrigue associated with the Roman introduction into Palestine in the first century before the Common Era. Within *The Parables of Enoch*, Leslie Walck has identified four elements in the text itself that suggest a probable dating for the parables.⁵²³ First, there is a profile of the kings and mighty ones who are the opponents of the righteous ones, the persecuted. The mention of this group of antagonists has led some scholars like R. H. Charles to locate this antagonistic group among the later Maccabean princes, giving the writing a date earlier than the first century B.C.E. Such an identification does not fit the rest of the evidence, however. Second, there is a plea for vindication for the blood that was shed on the part of the persecuted. Third, there is mention of the Parthians and Medes. Finally, there is a reference to the healing properties of the hot springs in Dead Sea, Callirhoe to be specific. According to John Collins, Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield, all these statements marshaled suggest a date of 40 B.C.E. Parenthetically, Herod

⁵²² Grabbe, *Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period*, 53.

⁵²³ Leslie W. Walck, *The Son of Man in The Parables of Enoch and in Matthew* (London: T and T Clark, 2011), 3.

the Great was known to visit these springs for healing. He was never, however, to find relief for his debilitating illness, as he died a most miserable death.

Jozef Malik dates *The Parables of Enoch* late, namely the 3th century C.E. His rationale for doing so is that *The Parables of Enoch* were not found at Qumran along with the other sections of the Enoch *corpus*, as Enoch had reached canonical status for the Qumran community. But, there were other books that were not found at Qumran. *The Parables of Enoch* were the product of an esoteric group very much like Qumran. The absence of the parables at Qumran does not justify a date into the third century of the Common Era, well beyond the events of the introduction of the Roman Empire into Judea in the first century B.C.E. The lack of *The Parables of Enoch* merely shows that the Enoch *corpus* had many avatars; many dissident groups used the apocalyptic language of resistance to preserve their identity.

According to Leslie Walck, all the societies the Roman Empire conquered would fall into the advanced, agrarian societies.⁵²⁴ The invention of the plow and wheel had a transformative effect on agrarian societies. It initiated the process whereby they could evolve beyond an economy that was merely horticultural. Such inventions made societies more complex and diverse economically, as it catalyzed the development of metallurgy and greater productivity. Trade opened up. With the presence of trade, money and writing became necessary. The advanced agrarian societies, consequently, became inequitable. The ruler came to control most of the wealth. The government class developed to serve the potentate in court. The ruler and government comprised 2% of the advanced rural society. 10% of the populations comprised what Walck calls the “retainers.” These were the people skilled in the service of the ruling class.

⁵²⁴ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 39.

They were soldiers, scribes, servants, officials who served the elite. The 4th class was that of the merchants. The religious class of priests was 5th in social stratification in an advanced agrarian society. They were either poor or wealthy, depending on the favors granted them by the privileged. If poor and repressed members of the religious class on the periphery had the skills to articulate another vision for society based on the motifs of righteousness and justice, then such is the case with the groups that produced the Enoch *corpus* over its long history, especially the author of *The Parables of Enoch* in the first century B.C.E. In Hasmonean Judea after the Maccabean revolt, the ruling power in Jehud was the religious class. Finally, at the bottom of the advanced agrarian society were the peasants, artisans, the unclean and degraded, laborers and prostitutes.⁵²⁵

The author of *The Parables of Enoch* “repurposes” writings that had become authoritative by his time to make them speak anew in his crisis as a persecuted member of a dissident group. Those writings are the earlier parts of 1 Enoch and the book of Daniel.⁵²⁶ *The Parables of Enoch* consist of eight passages, each of which is prefaced by the threefold formula where the seer (Enoch) says, “And there I saw.” Secondly, what he sees is followed by a question that he asks his accompanying angel. Thirdly, the accompanying angel serves as the interpreter for the seer as he makes his way on his tour through heaven to the throne of God. The accompanying and interpreting angel gives explicit answers to the seer, for the seer has to reveal what he sees to his persecuted community to comfort and bolster their spirits in a God who is on the throne and will execute judgment on behalf of the persecuted righteous. This threefold formula is meant to

⁵²⁵ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 42.

⁵²⁶ Michael Knibb, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 124.

give gravitas to what the seer experiences, so that it will not be perceived as coming from him.

This validates his role as a receiver of God's revelation.

As a receiver of God's revelation, moreover, there is no difference between the classical prophet and the apocalypticist in the Second Temple era. The difference is merely spatial: the apocalypticist receives communication in heaven; the classical prophet receives it on earth. At this time of crisis, earth was not a trusted place. Apocalypticism is prophecy in another tone; it is prophecy on steroids. The idea that there was no prophecy in the Second Temple era derives from the false dualism of a so-called classical age of prophecy and a deficient apocalyptic age that follows it.

The belief system of the authors of 1 Enoch is discernible.⁵²⁷ The *nomen dei*, "Lord of the Spirits" (1 Enoch 37:4), is used throughout the work. It is transcendent nomenclature for God. God controls heaven from the throne. All angels are in submission to God. For the authors of 1 Enoch, sin originated with the fallen watchers (1 Enoch 64), that is the fallen angels. The righteous will be vindicated in an eschatological event that reverses the fortunes of the oppressors. The unjust social structures will be reversed in an eschatological event at the end of time, where heaven and earth will be transformed. These beliefs point to concerns that would have been the purview of priests and scribes. Most telling, however, the authors of the Enoch corpus would have been interested Hellenistic innovators.⁵²⁸ Yet, they would have supported the traditional ways of scriptural study and agrarian life.

The second parable (45 - 57), the section from which 46:1 - 5 hails, begins with an introductory speech (45:1 - 6) and then it divides into two parts. In chapters 46 - 51 are visionary

⁵²⁷ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 36.

⁵²⁸ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 36.

reports and descriptions of the son of man and the judgments that he would inflict on the powerful and mighty in possession of the temple.⁵²⁹ This section is about the vindication of the righteous and the punishment of the sinners. The son of man, a divine being, is the agent of that judgment.

In verse one, heaven is the place where the revelation occurs. The seer in a vision has been transported there. In 39:3, the seer relates how he was transported to the throne room of God: it was a storm into which he got swept up. *The Parables of Enoch* continue the journey-to-heaven motif established in the earlier parts of 1 Enoch, namely *The Book of the Watchers*.

The seer meets God, whose name is “Head of Days.” Not only does the author of *The Parables of Enoch* cull theological concepts from the earlier parts of 1 Enoch, he may have used Daniel chapter 7 as a major source in the construction of his idea of God.⁵³⁰ For many scholars, “Head of Days” is the equivalent of “Ancient of Days” in Daniel. There is no textual evidence to account for the various theories that try to explain how head replaced ancient in verse one of the text. Some scholars have posited a misreading or a mishearing of the Greek during the translation of the Greek text into Ethiopic. Instead of the Greek παλαιός (“old” or “ancient”), the scholar conflated καί (“and”) with παλαιός and thereby produced κεφαλή (“head”). This remains speculation. The name is intentional, as it is a consistent choice throughout *The Parables of Enoch*. Both “head” and “ancient” communicate the idea of eternity.

The white wool of God’s head denotes firmness, uprightness and maturity in judgment.⁵³¹ Other scholars see in the word the idea of innocence and purity. White is associated with God

⁵²⁹ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of 1 Enoch and in Matthew*, 132.

⁵³⁰ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of 1 Enoch and in Matthew*, 54.

⁵³¹ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of 1 Enoch and in Matthew*, 58.

insofar as it communicates lucidity in a world that is dark, dank and devilish. As seen earlier, light is an important metaphor for Daniel, as God is a source of light amid the darkness.

In the throne room with God, there is another divine being, namely the son of man. The son of man is shaped by the genre of the work, namely apocalypse.⁵³² As a product of this genre, it is shaped by other writings, especially Daniel's notion of the son of man. The oppressed acknowledge the sovereignty of the son of man. The son of man is shrouded in hiddenness in the work, denoting his pre-existence as a source of divinity. At the very least, the son of man is God's eschatological agent to effect justice on behalf of the aggrieved group. The powerful and mighty do not acknowledge the son of man; the weak and oppressed do. The hiddenness of the son of man is a symbol for his pre-existence and by extension his divinity; his divinity is finally demonstrated at the last day when he upholds the tables on behalf of the oppressed. There are other issues at stake when interpreting this figure in *The Parables of Enoch*. Is the son of man merely a title, an honorific one for some great personage in the oppressed community? Another issue is the identification of Enoch with the son of man.

Some scholars have tried to associate the son of man with the suffering community or with Enoch. Later in *The Parables of Enoch*, there is a claim that Enoch is the son of man. For some scholars, this is a later Jewish interpolation to wrest the term from Jesus, whom Christians had labeled the son of man. According to John Collins, the son of man has to be a divine figure who can compensate for the powerlessness of the suffering community.⁵³³ The allusion to Daniel is substantiated with this concept.

⁵³² Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 3.

⁵³³ John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroads, 1984), 150.

Further, 1 Enoch 46:1 - 5 is like Daniel in other key ways⁵³⁴: 1) the seer having the vision; 2) the forensic role God plays; 3) the opening of the books of judgment; 4) the throne scene; and 5) the presence of angels near or around the throne.

The idea of two divine beings may seem inimical to the strict monotheism of Judaism. For Walck, this demonstrates how the Canaanite pantheon of gods and their cohorts informed the vision of two divine beings in Daniel and 1 Enoch 46:1.⁵³⁵

God's face is said to be full of grace or graciousness according to Nickelburg's translation. The word could also mean loveliness, attractiveness and charm.⁵³⁶ The Hebrew Bible never focuses on the visage of God to appreciate its beauty or attractiveness. Some would counter, insisting that the Song of Solomon is an example where the visage of God in its beauty is appreciated. The Song of Solomon, however, is love poetry between humans. As the sage without the aid of revelation investigated the world around to uncover its working, so the art of love between a man and a woman is studied and appreciated and rhapsodized about. Only secondarily can one apply the Song of Songs to God in an allegorical sense. This is done to justify its existence in the canon. This attention on the face of God will take a major turn in Merkavah mysticism. For the Merkavah mystics, the beauty of God's face is the resplendent power in the throne room. That beauty, however, can cut both ways. It can attract the worthy traveler to the throne or repel the unworthy one.

In verse two, one notes the accompanying angel. This is a common trope in apocalyptic literature, as the presence of the accompanying and interpreting angel is meant to give credence

⁵³⁴ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 59.

⁵³⁵ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 66.

⁵³⁶ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 61.

to the authenticity of the seer's vision. The seer's insights into God did not emanate from the seer. The Hebrew Bible has examples of angels who functioned in the aforementioned way: Isaiah 6:7 and Ezekiel chapters 40 - 48. Of course, both the earlier productions of 1 Enoch and Daniel have such an angel. *The Book of Watchers* is about angels, where several angels are mentioned by name. More importantly, on the seer's tour of heaven, he is shown places where the evil angels are locked up for revealing secrets to humanity that led to its downfall. In chapter 69 of *The Parables of Enoch*, the angel Penemue is accused of having taught humans how to write.⁵³⁷ The role of the angels is to reveal secrets to humans when God deems them ready. The secrets are informed by the wisdom tradition, namely dealing with the operations of natural phenomena.

In verse three, "The Lord of the Spirits" is a strange name for God according to Walck.⁵³⁸ The term appears several times (104) in *The Parables of Enoch*. It derives from "Lord of hosts." The term the Lord of the Spirits, then, stands in apposition to Lord of hosts. The hosts are angels, spirits. The Lord of the spirits has chosen the son of man to dispense justice.⁵³⁹ Such justice is one of the hidden things over which the son of man is responsible to reveal. In verse four, one sees how judgment that produces justice is to occur: the kings and mighty who have lived in luxury will be razed; their reigns will be loosened, namely their hold on the weak. In verse five, their dominions will be overturned because of their failure to attribute to God their dominions. The powerful and the mighty are the sinners. The status quo through which they exploit the weak will be reversed.

⁵³⁷ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 66.

⁵³⁸ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of I Enoch and in Matthew*, 77.

⁵³⁹ Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 158.

Genre

The most prominent genre in I Enoch 46:1 - 5 is apocalyptic. Apocalypticism represents a movement away from the this-worldly focus of traditional, classical, Hebrew prophecy. On its face, the apocalyptic genre is postcolonial inasmuch as it is the language of the oppressed in their third space existence.⁵⁴⁰ This is the space where competing cultures collide in on the oppressed and out of that collision they create their own expressions and *modi vivendi* that are commensurate with their identity. Apocalypticism, accordingly, is a hybrid phenomenon. The author of *The Parables of Enoch* and the audience to whom he writes are in such a third space. Apocalypticism is their conceptual language as it was for the first writers of the 1 Enoch corpus in the Ptolemaic times, for Daniel during the cultural repression of Antiochus IV in the second century before the common era, for the persecuted Christians in Asia Minor to whom the author of John wrote Revelation, and for the Jewish Merkavah mystics in the aftermath of the Jewish Wars and in subsequent experiences of repression in the Diaspora in Europe.

Inherent in the project of apocalypticism is an attempt to solve the theodicy quandary eschatologically. The issue of an absent God, a silent God, is answered in the future when justice will finally prevail and the oppressed will be comforted. Whereas wisdom has given up on squaring an all-powerful God with the presence of evil, or at the very least viewing evil as a product of doing business in the world where freedoms and interests conflict, apocalypticism tries to save God amid the questioning of the community about its hapless fate. Apocalypticism, then, is a pious phenomenon, trying to find a place for God amid a broken world. That place is the future. In the future, things will get better. A postcolonial interpretation of mysticism has

⁵⁴⁰ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Rutledge, 1994), 36.

difficulties with this approach of justifying God's existence amid suffering. The postcolonial mystic insists on the partnership of God and the faithful in actualizing the possibilities of God in this world. In this sense, apocalypticism has more to do with enlightenment in the present, not full-disclosure in the future.

Wisdom is another genre that one finds in 1 Enoch. There is a concern with the way the world works to demonstrate the "intelligent design" of life, especially the natural phenomena. This is a hedge against the prevailing chaos of the times. God is on the throne and God reveals hidden things about God's throne, namely providential rule on behalf of the oppressed. There will be a reversal, for justice demands it. There are Babylonian, astronomical ideas throughout the book. These demonstrate the sophistication that is 1 Enoch.

Tour of heaven is another key genre. The origin of this is in the Hebrew Bible, though there are no specific accounts of otherworldly journeys to heaven as in 1 Enoch and the Merkavah literature.⁵⁴¹ There are strong hints in Ezekiel 8 - 11; 40 - 48. In these instances, God comes to Ezekiel and brings him to the heavenly Jerusalem and there he is given a tour. Ezekiel and Zechariah inform the development of the genre of tour of heaven that one encounters in the Enoch *corpus* and Merkavah literature.

Setting

The *Sitz im Leben* of *The Parables of Enoch* is the introduction of the Romans into Palestine. The Roman presence commenced in 63 B.C.E. and would not end until the Muslim conquest some eight centuries later. They were invited to settle disputes between warring factions among the Hasmoneans. This was accomplished through much blood shed. Aristobulos

⁵⁴¹ Michael Knibb, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and other Jewish Texts and Traditions* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), 127.

II and Hyrcanus II fought for control of the reign of power at the temple.⁵⁴² To complicate matters, the Idumean Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, played one side against the another in the world of shifting alliances. Pompey was invited into the increasing conflagration by the followers of Hyrcanus II; they opened the city gates to his approaching army. The followers of Aristobulos II hid in the palace of the high priest and the temple area. After a three-month siege, the walls were breeched and bloodshed ensued. Hyrcanus II was installed as the high priest, a figurehead for Roman power. Subsequently, Herod toppled Hycanus II with the help of the Parthians, Persians. Herod, the usurper of the throne, continued the blood bath.

Herod's policies were repressive, moreover. He suppressed the Sanhedrin. His interference in the high priestly office undermined people's confidence in the religious figure, seen as a pawn of the political power. Herod kept the high priest's vestments under lock and key. When the Romans initiated direct rule over Palestine, the Romans continued Herod's practice of controlling the office of high priest in the same manner. This was highly offensive to observant Jews. The events leading to the sacking of the temple in 70 C.E. and subsequent Jewish Wars had their seeds in how Herod and the Romans after him handled the office of high priest.

The Roman mode of empire was a continuation of Greek mode of empire. The Romans, however, had a unified military structure. Like the Babylonians, they conquered advanced agrarian societies. They were better than the Babylonians at managing the provinces through their army until the provinces became too large. To control the provinces, Rome established a client/patron system, of which Herod the Great was the epitome.

⁵⁴² Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 17.

The Romans continued the Greek culture, though they were less speculative and more practical than the Greeks. They were better administrators than the Greeks. The Romans achieved peace through overwhelming victory.⁵⁴³ Their imperial ideology was grounded in the Roman sense of military power. A wholesale Roman imperial theology was grounded on religion, war, victory and peace according to Crossan. Resistance against this ideology would take many forms in Judaism and Christianity, especially in the form of apocalyptic. The political and religious strife that began with Antiochus IV continued throughout the Roman suzerainty over the Palestine.

Walck notes four elements in *The Parables of Enoch* that suggest the milieu previously laid out⁵⁴⁴: 1) the identity of the kings and mighty ones (1 Enoch 46:8); 2) the references to the blood of the righteous that had been shed (1 Enoch 47:2); 3) the threat of the Parthians and Medes (1 Enoch 56:5); and 4) the reference to the healing hot springs (1 Enoch 65 - 68). The author was a member of a persecuted group caught up in the political caldron produced by the factionalism among the later, first-century Hasmoneans.

Intention

As a member of repressed group in living in the aftermath of the political and religious intrigue in first century C.E., the author writes a work to bolster the confidence of his fellow oppressed community that God is still in control. God is in heaven and on the throne. The tables will be reversed. The mighty and the powerful will be judged for the blood spilled in pursuit of their political and economic designs. Though things are dark presently, though God is silent and

⁵⁴³ John Dominic Crossan, “Roman Imperial Theology,” in *In the Shadow of Empire: Reclaiming the Bible as Faithful Resistance*, ed. Richard Horsley (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 65.

⁵⁴⁴ Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew*, 16.

distant, God will act in the future to vindicate them. The son of man will be the agent to execute that judgment.

I Enoch and *The Parables of Enoch* are ancestors of the Jesus movement and Merkavah mysticism. As such, they became the tools by which later repressed peoples would have the conceptual language to resist empire and thereby preserve their identity in their third space and empower themselves. The book of Revelation was spawned in a crisis where Christians were persecuted. For the author of the Apocalypse of John, apocalyptic became the convenient genre bespeaking resistance. Like Enoch in 1 Enoch and *The Parables of Enoch*, John gets a tour of heaven where he sees the lamb on the throne. The message is seditious: Rome's imperial rule will end. The message is existential: it empowers the suffering and protects their selfhood from being robbed by the imperial power.

In Merkavah mysticism, the same dynamic exists. The likely setting for a work like *Hekhalot Rabbati* is the aftermath of any one of the Jewish wars against Rome, where the Jews suffered near genocide and were finally banned from Palestine, especially after the bar Kokhba Revolt in 132 - 135 C.E. The work has many elements in common with 1 Enoch and the Apocalypse of John. It especially lifts up the theodicy piece, asking God why God allowed Jerusalem to fall.

Postcolonial Application

A postcolonial critique of the intellectual and existential movement of apocalyptic would lift up the motif of resistance in the foregoing instances of apocalyptic. In each case, apocalyptic was the appropriate way for the subalterns in those situations to protect and preserve their identity and exert some power. Apocalyptic was a necessary and available tool of resistance at a

given time and in a given locale. The problem arises when apocalyptic becomes a tradition that is preserved as sacred, when it becomes the word of God. When something becomes “the Word of God,” then, putatively, it must have relevance for all time; it cannot be discounted as out of date and no longer relevant. Hence, fundamentalists try to make sense of apocalyptic in contemporary history. They go through mental contortions to make it relevant, speak to contemporary events. Or, as in the case of Hasidic Judaism, it may become a sanctioned *modus operandi* of doing mysticism and experiencing God. The worthy ones in that tradition still take tours of heaven to demonstrate their exalted status in the community. Both scenarios as heirs to 1 Enoch and *The Parables of Enoch* may lead to a devaluation of the world and a preoccupation with heavenly realities.

According to Chrys Caragounis, the preposition כ in Daniel 7: 13, כבָר אָנֹשׁ, and Daniel 10:13, כֶּלֶבֶת, denotes a supernatural being in human form.⁵⁴⁵ Son of man is not merely a designation for a group of humans or one human. To speak merely of humans, according to Caragounis, the author of the Book of Daniel would not have used the preposition כ in front of the son of man designations. Son of man in Daniel denotes not merely a human reality, but also a divine one, a transcendent one. Daniel envisions a history below conducted by the faithful humans and a history above conducted by a transcendent reality. There is a universal, transcendent power working behind the veil of historical particularities not perceptible to humans. Caragounis notes, “To do justice to the book, therefore, it is imperative that the interpreter keep this duality, this double dimension constantly in mind.”⁵⁴⁶ This “double dimension” is what grounds the theological motif of the sovereignty of God throughout the book.

⁵⁴⁵ Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, 61.

⁵⁴⁶ Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, 67.

The oppressed must have a large God who is able to control historical exigencies, and, yet, a God who is partnered in a mutuality of faithfulness that encourages them to keep resisting imperial powers and doing the difficult work of decolonization. The concept of the son of Adam in Daniel, then, is not a static notion; it is a dynamic interpenetration of the human and the divine. In the Christian sense, the son of man is a sacrament, where the invisible is made visible in material elements. In the material elements of the high priest, the invisible reality is made visible in his vestments, in his audible and visual session at the throne of God to receive Torah, in his visage suffused with light.

Isaiah's servant songs (Isaiah 52:13 - 53) are a look at the high priest from below. The son of man in Daniel is a look at the high priest from above. The *maskilim* function like the suffering servant in their role of making many wise. Like Isaiah's suffering servant, they are marred beyond recognition. They lose all beauty; they are despised. They are so despised that people turn their faces from the suffering servants of God who are faithful in making the people prosper in wisdom and enlightenment about the political exigencies as well as God's quiet activity behind the scene. The high priest in a state of humiliation is the subject of Isaiah's servant songs. The high priest as symbol of the people suffers particularly what the people suffer corporately. The high priest outside the temple precincts, stripped of his holy vestments, having become one with the people in suffering and shame, is the subject of the Isaiah's suffering servant songs. Inasmuch as Daniel has Isaiah in mind as well as other prophets, the son of man in Daniel 7:13 is a contrapuntal reading of Isaiah 52:13 - 53; that is, Daniel 7:13 intentionally offers a different take on the subject of Isaiah 52:13 - 53. The son of Adam in Daniel is the decolonized high priest who has his identity in a mutuality with God. The colonized high priest is loaded with shame in the experience of exile in Babylonia, away from the Temple. Daniel

could point again to shame tainting the office of the high priesthood in the hands of the Hellenizers in the mid-second century B.C.E. They had once again colonized the high priest, corrupted the office, and vitiated its true meaning. Though the shame the high priest bears in exile is corporate, it is redeemed. Isaiah says that by the stripes of the high priest the people are healed. Isaiah never mentions how that healing occurs. Daniel would say that it is in the high priest's role as the son of Adam before the Ancient of Days that healing occurs. The healing must have both a human and divine dimension. The concept of the son of Adam joins both the human and divine dimensions.

Moshe Idel, in his work *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, posits that a religion remains vital when there is an open transit between the divine realm and the earthly realm.⁵⁴⁷ The open transit either catalyzes God's movement to people in the form of interventions or humans' movement to God through various forms of ascent. Sonship gives permission for such an open transit; it invites it; it facilitates it, as it contours the ideal human as constituted to experience such an open transit.⁵⁴⁸ Yet, such a transit is never conflict free. There is tension between what Idel calls the apoteotic approach to religion and the theophantic approach.⁵⁴⁹ The apoteotic approach is the road less traveled. It is the practice of the few who ascend on high to be transformed.⁵⁵⁰ The theophantic approach constitutes the interventions of God into the human realm that are codified by tradition. A vibrant and living religion makes room for both. Sonship is the invitation to both to be essentially related to God.

⁵⁴⁷ Moshe Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Continuum, 2007), 1.

⁵⁴⁸ Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, 4.

⁵⁵⁰ Idel, *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, 4.

Sonship represents the joining of the human and the divine in a mutually dynamic relationship where the human experiences his/her transcendent self. Other religious traditions have expressed this sonship in other ways. Sonship means that one cannot say all there is to say about humans in their existential particularities. It is impossible to ferret out all the factors that make humans who they are in their micro worlds. The universal script of empire is arrogant, accordingly. It pretends that it has the subaltern all figured out as a function of themselves. Son of man as a mystical phenomenon would demand that humans use a dialectic of saying and unsaying when speaking of other humans. A dialectic of saying and unsaying allows no one proposition to stand on its own. A single proposition about God cannot say all there is about God.⁵⁵¹ It is for this reason that the categories of kataphatic (saying) and apophatic (unsaying) complement each other in theological reflection. The mystic is compelled to say something about God; yet, the mystic knows that whatever he/she says about God cannot exhaust God. What is said must be unsaid in all humility.

The dialectic of saying and unsaying, moreover, is not only applied to God; it is also applied to humans. One cannot say all there is about humans. Human nature is plastic; it is never complete. Mystics such as Ibn Arabi (Sufi), Meister Eckart and Marguerite Porete (both Christian) say and unsay humans through the use of the mirror as a metaphor of the subject/object relationship. For Ibn Arabi, it is in the mystical moment that one discovers oneself.⁵⁵² That mystical moment is characterized by Arabi and other Sufis as a polished mirror. When a mirror is dirty, one focuses on the mirror. When the mirror is cleaned, one can see right through the mirror to the image. The cleaning of the mirror occurs in the mystical moment that

⁵⁵¹ Michael Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 2.

⁵⁵² Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*, 69.

belongs to the complete human. The complete human denies self, so that the divine self may shine through. Paradoxically, the killing of the ego self is the finding of the true, complete self. It is the complete human who has experienced the mystical moment; divinity uses every aspect of such a person. They become so identified with each other in will that they are one even in the most mundane things. The collapsing of the subject onto its beloved object is not apparent. It is apophatic. The relationship cannot not be exhausted through an established self-concept. The relationship has a depth that cannot be articulated fully.

In sonship, the subject and object collapse on each other. Son of man has collapsing dimensions that cannot be fully articulated; yet, they (God and humans) interpenetrate each other. God and humans become real partners in the experience of the son of man. It is here that real possibilities for the decolonization of the psyche can occur. Empire cannot say all there is about those whom it subjugates. The son of man before the throne of God is both a saying and an unsaying. Rabbi Nathan, a disciple of Abraham Abulafia says it like this:

Know that the fullness of the secret of prophecy for the prophet is that he suddenly will see his own form standing before him and he will forget himself and disappear from it, and will see his own form standing before him and speaking with him and telling him the future. Of this secret the sages said, ‘Great is the power of the prophets, for they make the form similar to its creator.

Speaking of the profound union between God and humans, such that the concept of the son of man would convey to the mystic, Abraham Abulafia employed the formula: “He is he.”⁵⁵³

⁵⁵³ Moshe Idel, *The Mystical Experience of Abraham Abulafia* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), 125.

Chapter 10

PHENOMENOLOGICAL CASES OF POSTCOLONIAL MYSTICISM

As noted in chapter two on methodology, the phenomenological study of religion is descriptive. The proper study of religion is the people behind the religion. What does religion mean to them? Allowing them to speak is the key to a proper phenomenological study of religion. Phenomenology must be dialogic, accordingly. The fundamental question is how people use religion to face the various challenges of life. Relative to postcolonial mysticism, the key question is how the subjugated peoples, the subalterns, use mysticism to resist and decolonize their psyches. I shall survey Abraham Abulafia, Marguerite Porete, Emir Abd el-Kader and Howard Thurman.

10.1 Abraham Abulafia

Abraham Samuel Abulafia was born in 1240 in Saragossa, Spain, in the region of Aragon. His father taught him the Bible, some Mishnah and Talmud.⁵⁵⁴ At age 18, Abulafia's father died. Two years later he left Spain for Syria and Palestine in search of the putative ten lost tribes of Israel. The region was beset by constant war, however. He returned to Europe. He spent ten years in Greece and Italy, during which time he steeped himself in the philosophy of Maimonides. For Abulafia, there was no contradiction between the rational doctrine of Maimonides and mystical experience as he would come to know it. Abulafia remained a life-long admirer of Maimonides. According to Gershom Scholem, Abulafia's mystical theory was an extrapolation from Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed*.⁵⁵⁵ Moshe Idel notes Abulafia's visions after age 31 are the result of a projection of Maimonides' philosophical presuppositions

⁵⁵⁴ Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974), 126.

⁵⁵⁵ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 126.

onto the imaginative realm.⁵⁵⁶ Reason and mystical experience are not inimical to each other in Abulafia's thought. Intellect and imagination form the foundation of his mystical thinking. Mystical experiences are the experiential confirmation of philosophical theories that become establish doctrines in a religious community. Abulafia upbraided the Kabbalists of his day for holding ideas without having experienced them.⁵⁵⁷ Like Daniel, Abulafia combined profound study with mystical experience. Though he became the forebear of an ecstatic Kabbalism that engaged one's physicality, Abulafia never deviated from philosophy and rigorous thinking.

In 1270 Abulafia returned to Spain. It is during this period of his life that he immersed himself in research of mysticism. Under the tutelage of Baruch Togarmi, Abulafia became adept at the mystical technique of his teacher. He went beyond his teacher, as gifted students are wont to do. At 31, he had a catalyzing mystical experience that led him to obtain knowledge of the true name of God.⁵⁵⁸ Once again he left his native land. He wandered as a vagrant in Italy and Greece. Abulafia made many enemies along the way. Orthodox Kabbalists persecuted him. Christians persecuted him. He was jailed for attempting to convert the pope, or expressing a desire to do so. Later in life, he was exiled to an island near Sicily. After 1291, he drops from history. Abulafia garnered admirers. Poverty, exile, imprisonment could not break the spirit of a man who had experienced a profound *devequt* with God. *Devequt* is a Hebrew word meaning "union." This union with God empowered him to resist and to decolonize his psyche.

Relative to the decolonization of the mind, Abulafia's objective was to untie the knots that bind the soul. Everyday life seals up the soul.⁵⁵⁹ The perceptions of living life fill the mind

⁵⁵⁶ Moshe Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), 147.

⁵⁵⁷ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 129.

⁵⁵⁸ Scholem, *Major Trend in Jewish Mysticism*, 129.

⁵⁵⁹ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 131.

with images, a multiplicity of finite images that obscure the unity of the divine. God gets blocked by attachments to the perceptions of life. In order to release the stream of divine life, the aim is to untie the attachments to such perceptions that lead to a fixation on sensuality. With the proper preparation and practice, the seals can be relaxed and one can experience union with God.⁵⁶⁰

Abulafia's ecstatic mysticism, "prophetic Kabbalah," or Kabbalah of Names,⁵⁶¹ is practical. The preparation for prophetic Kabbalah is a third space engagement where one finds space to be alone.⁵⁶² According to Abulafia, the special solitary place where one meets God is to be an intimate secret between the one who desires to meet God and God who meets that person in solitude. One engages in a purgation of vain thoughts that are tied to this world. One covers oneself with the prayer shawl and places the *Tefillin* over one's head. If possible, according to Abulafia, one should wear white. One should light many candles in the sacred space. Taking quill and tablet in hand, one begins to combine letters of the divine names, which have both mundane and spiritual significance, as they bespeak the hidden reality of God in all things. One combines letters until one's heart is warmed. The combination of the letters yields information that neither tradition nor one's own thoughts can provide. The combination of letters produces a new name, a new revelation about God. Engaging the practice is not merely linguistic; it opens one up to the influx of divine power. One, then, uses one's imagination to articulate the new name in the presence of the angels in the room and in one's heart. The method also involves the movement of hands and head with concentrated, focused breathing. One becomes overwhelmed by the divine. One has an ecstatic experience that seizes the whole body, causing it to tremble.

⁵⁶⁰ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 130.

⁵⁶¹ Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 8.

⁵⁶² Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 136.

Abulafia says that the trembling can be so strong that one feels like one is about to die.⁵⁶³ As the soul is overwhelmed by the joy of the knowledge of the new name, it will feel as if it is about to exit the body. Once having had the experience, one should return to the affairs of daily life knowing that one is profoundly loved by God. Abulafia's mystical method is not contemplative in the apophatic sense, where one sits in silence for long periods of time. His method is for short, concentrated periods of time. The seals that bind up the psyche get released. One comes to experience union with God, *devequt*. Cleaving to God means not cleaving to falsehoods, especially the falsehoods of others who persecute others.⁵⁶⁴ Abulafia proffers the seeker of a mystical experience of God a detailed, systematic path to that experience.⁵⁶⁵

From whence cometh Abulafia's prophetic Kabbalah? The recitation of divine names is a common mystical practice in many traditions. Moshe Idel says that Abulafia's method is influenced by Ashkenazic Hasidim.⁵⁶⁶ There is, moreover, the recitation of divine names in the *Hekhalot Rabbati* when one journeys to the throne.⁵⁶⁷ A more ancient connection is the Urim and Thummim of the high priest.

According to Gershom Scholem, the recitation of divine names is meant to create a new form of consciousness.⁵⁶⁸ The repetition of names is meant to pierce the normal consciousness and open one up to a higher consciousness. The higher consciousness leads to transformation, as those who cleave to the Name, according to Idel, are transformed from mortals to immortals.⁵⁶⁹ Abulafia's mystical practice offers the subaltern real possibilities of enlightenment leading to

⁵⁶³ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 137.

⁵⁶⁴ Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 124

⁵⁶⁵ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 13.

⁵⁶⁶ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 9.

⁵⁶⁷ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 14.

⁵⁶⁸ Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 19.

⁵⁶⁹ Idel, *The Mystical Experience in Abraham Abulafia*, 125.

decolonization, for hidden among the muck and mire of false perceptions is the Name, through which one is able to untie the knots of one's psyche. This is decolonization. Abraham Abulafia used mysticism to both resist his persecutors and to decolonize his mind. He epitomizes a postcolonial mysticism.

10.2 Marguerite Porete

Marguerite Porete also epitomizes postcolonial mysticism. Together with Mechthild von Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete formed the key intellectual pillars of the Beguine community that originated in the 13th century in Northern Europe. The Beguines were not nuns; they did not take any vows. They constituted a lay movement of women who lived together and sought God in mystical experiences. Such lay movements were a reaction to the 13th century imperial church. The 13th century witnessed the office of papacy at its height in political power throughout Europe. Pope Innocent III was an absolute, imperial monarch. The scholastic movement was at its height as well in Thomas Aquinas, whose intellectual reach into all subjects of human concern was the product of scholastic hubris. Scholastic theology informed by reason was considered a male endeavor. Women were excluded from “serious” theological reflection. Mystics began to resist the church’s encroachments onto their sacred place of conscience and belief. St. Francis of Assisi’s order was in the spirit of resistance against the imperial church, which did not address average people’s hunger for spiritual intimacy with God.

The Beguine community, moreover, was postcolonial in their mystical use of third space to resist the misogynist, medieval times and to decolonize their psyches from such misogyny through mysticism to forge their own identity and to bolster their courage in the work of reforming and restoring their society according to what they experienced in sacred texts and in their mystical experiences. They resisted the stale institutionalism and the suffocating orthodoxy

of the medieval church at the height of scholastic achievement. They used theological language in a new and relevant way. They were world affirming in their ethic of bettering the world. And, their practice of voluntary poverty was a way to counteract the greed of the rapacious church and to restore some economic balance. More specifically, the Beguines grew out of the Cistercian movement, which itself was a reform movement of the Benedictines. The 13-century St. Bernard de Clairveaux was behind the Cistercian renewal movement. But, the theologian that informs the Beguines was William, abbot of St. Thierry (12th century C.E.).

According to Emilie Zum Brunn, William of St. Thierry recovered Alexandrian theology by way of John Scotus Eriugena.⁵⁷⁰ Alexandrian theology and John Scotus Erigena were profoundly influenced by the neo-Platonist, Plotinus. Plotinus (3rd century C.E.) is the foundational thinker at the root of Western mysticism. For Plotinus, a philosopher, not a theologian, the One cannot be articulated; yet, the One is the unity behind the multiplicity in the universe. Though humans cannot articulate the One, the One emanates. The first emanation of the One is *nous* and then *psyche*. The unknowable One, the *nous* and *psyche* form the triad that is God in Plotinus' system. The emanation of the One out of itself is motivated by love. Plotinus had a profound influence on John Scotus Eriugena (9th century C.E.). John Scotus Eriugena calls Plotinus' One *Natura* in his system. *Natura* is God in God's self, the hidden God who cannot be articulated. The hidden God is not the substantial God of the Bible who operates like a person among many persons. God as *Natura* is the common heritage of all people because they all share in this God. For Eriugena, everything, then, becomes a theophany of this God who both transcends the universe and is yet immanent in it. This is a panentheistic vision of God one

⁵⁷⁰ Emilie Zum Brunn and Georgette Epines – Burgard, *Women Mystics in Medieval Europe*, trans. Sheila Hughes (St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House, 1989), xv.

finds also in Kabbalah's emanation of the *Ein-Sof* into the *Seferiot* and forms the conceptual language of mystical theologies in most traditions. Informed by Plotinus and Eriugena, William stressed the close bond between the inner Trinitarian life of God and humanity's spiritual life. William posited that God lives in the human heart. Like Whitehead, there is an ontological connection between humanity and God, a relativity that is essential to both. According to Emilie Zum Brunn, this idea would influence the Beguines in their resistance against the imperial pretensions of the medieval church. This notion would aide in the decolonization process.

Little to nothing is known about the biography Marguerite Porete. Accounts of her life are recorded in her heresy trial; this, however, cannot be trusted. She hailed from a French region of the Holy Roman Empire. Her writing demonstrates that she was highly educated, a member of the upper class. The year of her death, namely 1310, is all that is known with certainty about Porete's biography. She was burned at the stake for refusing to appear before the ecclesiastical authorities to retract her teachings. Contemporary accounts of her martyrdom reveal the dignity and courage with which she went to her death.

Marguerite Porete's spiritual poetry is informed by love. Women were not allowed to perform theological reflection based on reason. Reason was a male sphere. Their reflection was clothed in the emotional, devotional literature of the heart. The liberation of the soul, according to Porete, is achieved when the soul annihilates itself in true love of God. Contemplation is the power that transforms the soul.⁵⁷¹

Marguerite Porete uses the language of the medieval court to articulate the profound unity of the soul with God. As noted above, the rationale for speaking of such unity of the

⁵⁷¹ Zum Brum and Epines-Burgard, *Women Mystics in Medieval Europe*, 151.

human soul with God was William of St. Thierry's recovery of John Scotus Eriugena's panentheistic vision of God in every soul that amounts to a theophany of God in every soul. In her work, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, Porete speaks of God as "Lady Love." She resorts to courtly love to articulate the relationship between God as lady love and the soul. Lady love is God in God's essence. After joining itself to God in contemplation, the soul is no longer beholden to outward rules and regulations, as the soul must even give up reason. In a dialogue with the soul, reason asks the soul what has given it more joy. The soul responds:

Soul: Lady love, says the Soul, will say it for me.

Love: It is from this, says Love, that she has taken leave of you [reason].⁵⁷²

This was anathema to medieval ears informed by the imperial reason of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Because of immediate, mystical experiences of God as lady love, in Porete's thinking even the sacraments of the church become superfluous. Lady Love says:

Great God, how great a difference there is between a gift from a lover to a beloved through a intermediary and a gift that is between lovers without a intermediary.⁵⁷³

The experience of the unity of the soul with God transcends the soul beyond the objective rites and rituals of the institutional church. The loving, mystical experience causes her to not care a whit about heaven and hell. Participating in God on this side of eternity is paradise for Porete. Accordingly, she was a threat to the Church, as she made the sacraments of the Church superfluous, as any mystic is wont to do given the immediacy of their experience of God. The

⁵⁷² Marguerite Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Ellen Babinsky (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 142.

⁵⁷³ Porete, *The Mirror of Simple Souls*, 83.

immediacy garnered in their third space gave the Beguines and Marguerite Porete an identity other than the one imposed on them by a patriarchal society. This third space sustained them and gave them courage, as Marguerite Porete could not recant the intimate unity she experienced with God in her mystical experiences. As Abraham Abulafia remained unmovable from what he experienced, so was Marguerite Porete unflappable. They both resisted and decolonized their psyches through their mystical experiences that deepened their unity with God. Accordingly, they demonstrate a postcolonial mysticism in the vein of Daniel.

10.3 Emir Abd el-Kader

The four major phases of Abd el-Kader's life are: his life in Algeria before he was enlisted as leader of the Community of the Faithful to resist French colonialization (1808 - 1833); his life as the armed leader of the resistance (1833 - 1847); his life in exile in France (1848 - 1852); and his life in the Ottoman East (1852 - 1883). In each of the phases of Abd el-Kader's life, mysticism played a prominent role.

Abd el-Kader ibn Muhyi ad-Din al-Hassani, son of Muhyi ad-Din, was born in Algeria, which constituted part of the western province of the Ottoman Empire. He was born into a family of religious nobility, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The "al-Hasani" in his name designated him a descendant of the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad. Sidi Muhyi ad-Din, his father, was renowned for his piety and learning. He was a member of Qadiriyya Sufism, a community of Sufis founded by al-Qadir al-Jilani (1077 - 1166), a Sufi teacher.⁵⁷⁴ Abd el-Kader's father gave him a life-long love for books and learning. According to Sufi praxis, character is molded in the caldron of deep study, meditation and spiritual practices. The Sufis

⁵⁷⁴ Ahmed Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, trans. Gustavo Polit (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, Inc., 2012), 13.

value both the exoteric aspect of Islam and the esoteric. The exoteric expression of Islam is localized in *Shari'a* Law, the “wide path” intended for all believers. The esoteric expression, “the narrow path,” is that of Islamic mysticism based on an inward interpretation of the religion.⁵⁷⁵ This dynamic of the wide path for the masses and the narrow path for the few serious ones can be seen in most religions: there is the positive expression of a religion in symbols, rituals, and traditions that is for the masses; and, there is the negative expression without the aforementioned that appeals to the intelligent, sensitive types who want to go deeper than the surface expressions to experience God in the depths of one’s soul. These two aspects of a given religion are often at enmity with each other, as seen in Abulafia and Porete. Mystics push the boundaries, often being accused of heresy. The Sufis experienced this dynamic. According to Sufi teaching, moreover, the real enemy to face is the enemy in one’s soul, as one detaches from fixations to the ego.⁵⁷⁶

Between 1825 and 1827, Abd el-Kader and his father made a pilgrimage to the holy sites of Islam (*hajj*). A pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Arabia, to Mecca, is one of the five pillars of Islam, together with declaration of faith in the unity of God, obligatory prayer five times a day, alms giving, and fasting during the month of Ramadan. Abd el-Kader, like most young Muslims, returned from his *hajj* with his father matured and deepened in his Sufi faith. He experienced the diversity of his faith. He engaged spiritual masters and theologians. The chanting, prayers and teachings further deepened his inwardness that would enable him to resist French colonial power and decolonize his psyche in the subsequent phases of his life.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁵ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 223.

⁵⁷⁶ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 28.

⁵⁷⁷ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 30.

In 1831, the French landed in Oran, Algeria. The Turkish leader, Bey Hasan, was forced into exile. A *jihad* was declared by Muhyi ad-Din, Abd el-Kader's father, as he was an influential member of the Hashim tribe to which his family belonged. The tribal members elected him to be the leader of the federation of western tribes to resist the French. He demurred because of age; he offered his son to lead the federation in battle. Many tribal members were not convinced that Abd el-Kader had leadership ability. They saw him as a lover of books, not a fighter. In the end, the tribe acceded to Abd el-Kader's leadership over them because of a dream a respected, elderly sage of the tribe had. He communicated to the tribe that he had a vision of Abd el-Kader on a throne dispensing justice.

Abd el-Kader was fearless in battle. In his 15 years of engagement against the French, he was never captured. He participated in all the campaigns, hurling himself into the middle of battle.⁵⁷⁸ Abd el-Kader distinguished himself in the eyes of the French. They saw the spiritual dimension of his leadership. He was serene in battle, engaging in battle to the end. Yet, he was merciful to the French captives. The French saw him as a Christ-like figure.⁵⁷⁹ In the throes of war, Abd el-Kader did not deviate from his spiritual practice. Witnesses said during the night he would stand for 7 hours reciting by heart the Koran in his tent. His practice gave him physical vigor, as he would ride on his saddle for 36 hours, only getting off to pray.⁵⁸⁰ Often he was found in states of ecstasy during prayer. Mystical experiences empowered him to resist and keep himself together psychically.

In 1847, Abd el-Kader, commander of the faithful, surrendered to the French. He did it of his own volition after 15 years of fighting. He would enter the third phase of his life that

⁵⁷⁸ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 38.

⁵⁷⁹ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 52.

⁵⁸⁰ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 59.

would be dedicated to God alone. On December 29, 1847, he and 97 other people constituting his family and loyal lieutenants arrived in Toulon, France. There he spent 5 years in captivity. Abd el-Kader accepted it as a spiritual retreat. Retreats were important rituals for the Sufis, as they were the *fora* in which people in The Way deepened their experience of God.⁵⁸¹ The retreat occasioned the believer to empty himself/herself of the attachments to the world. They were done in isolation, where the Sufi is impelled to face himself or herself in order to discover himself/herself. Ahmed Bouyerdene says: “For the knowledge of God necessarily passes through self-knowledge. According to the *hadith* widely commented on in Sufism, ‘Whoso knoweth his soul, the same knowth God.’”⁵⁸² The retreat in Sufism follows the precedent of the Prophet Muhammad who, on the occasion of a solitary retreat in a cave, was transfigured through an encounter with the angel Gabriel. Abd el-Kader, then, saw his 5-year captivity in France as such a retreat. He also saw it as engaging in the greater holy war with himself.⁵⁸³ The Prophet taught that fighting an outer enemy who threatens the land of Islam (*Dar al-islam*) is a lesser holy war compared to the greater holy war in one’s inner life against the attachments to the desires of this world.

In the final phase of his life, mysticism played as central of as role as the previous two. In this final phase after captivity in France, Abd el-Kader returned to the Ottoman East, first to Turkey, then eventually settling in Damascus, Syria. He studied the works of Shaykh Muhyi ad-Din Ibn Arabi, the 12th century Sufi mystic thinker, whom Abd el-Kader counted as his spiritual father. Abd el-Kader became a significant interpreter of his thought. Like all Muslims, Ibn Arabi began his reflection of God with God’s unity, oneness. God, *Allah*, is unknowable in

⁵⁸¹ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd al-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 75.

⁵⁸² Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd al-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 76.

⁵⁸³ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd al-Kader: Hero and Saint of Isla*, 76.

God's essence. The essence of God cannot be articulated. God, however, can be known through God's attributes, God's names.⁵⁸⁴ These attributes and names are infinite in number; they are dispersed throughout creation. The names, moreover, comes in pairs: first/last, outward/inward, light/darkness, etc. God is known in the epiphenomena of creation effected by the names of God. The creation is a "mirror" that reflects God.⁵⁸⁵

According to Bouyerdene, for Muslims Muhammad closes out the cycles of revelation; he is the final prophet. In history, the Prophet Muhammad is last; metaphysically, however, according to mystical thinkers he is first.⁵⁸⁶ The Prophet constitutes the "Muhammadan reality." Creation proceeds from this reality and all prophets before Muhammad were inspired by this reality. The Muhammadan reality is this mirror according to Abd el-Kader. It is the bridge between the created order and the uncreated order, the metaphysical and physical, the divine and the human.

Like most mystics, moreover, Ibn Arabi and Abd el-Kader goes one step further. The omnipresence of God in creation through the manifestation of God's attributes is called by Ibn Arabi the "Oneness of Being."⁵⁸⁷ This is the same panentheistic vision of God seen in *Ein-Sof* and its emanations in the *Sefirot* and the Whiteheadian notion of Creativity as nothing, yet fully immanent in the universe as actualizations in particular events. Ibn Arabi and Abd el-Kader keep in paradoxical tension the non-existence of God and the articulation of God in the universe. The detractors of Ibn Arabi and Abd el-Kader saw this as pantheism at best and atheism at worse. Yet, this is in keeping with the mystical mindset that dares not exhaust God with any

⁵⁸⁴ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 155.

⁵⁸⁵ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 155.

⁵⁸⁶ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 155.

⁵⁸⁷ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 155.

symbol or language, no matter how cherished and traditional. Mystics say and unsay; they predicate and they de-predicate, for such a dialectic keeps God a mystery, an inexhaustible well of wisdom and intelligence, a sea of possibilities. Abd el-Kader says, “God is in Himself Naught and Being, the Inexistent and the Existent. For there is nothing that can be felt, known, written about or uttered that is not God.”⁵⁸⁸ Such is the conceptual language of mystics committed to a positive tradition, yet open to the creatively mystical, new thing that God works in the heart that prepares itself.

The manner in which Emir Abd el-Kader decolonized his mind was through the process of freeing himself from discursive thoughts.⁵⁸⁹ For Abd el-Kader, according to Ahmed Bouyerdene, “ecstasy is nothing other than a total forgetfulness of self by watching over the senses and reason.”⁵⁹⁰ In all phases of his life, Abd el-Kader used mysticism to resist French colonization and decolonize his psyche to open it up for mystical experiences of God that were healing and empowering.

10.4 Howard Thurman

Howard Thurman was born in Daytona Beach, Florida in 1899. In his autobiography, Thurman calls his mother a devout, praying Christian. His father was a good man, though not a member of the church. Thurman suffered abuse by the church when on the occasion of his father’s funeral the preacher preached his father into hell.⁵⁹¹ Thurman was convinced at that young age that he would not have anything to do with an arrogant, judgmental church. The

⁵⁸⁸ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 165

⁵⁸⁹ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 162.

⁵⁹⁰ Bouyerdene, *Emir Abd el-Kader: Hero and Saint of Islam*, 162.

⁵⁹¹ Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1979), 6.

preacher did not know his father; accordingly, it was inappropriate to summarily dismiss him based on dogma. This experience would inform Thurman's desire to recast Christianity in more liberal ways. Thurman's most formative influence, moreover, was his grandmother, a former slave. His mother had to work after the death of his father; so, his grandmother was the one who took care of him and his siblings. His grandmother's influence was strong in the sense that she passed onto Thurman values of prayer, an appreciation of nature and self-reliance. As his grandmother could not read, it was Thurman's responsibility to read to her. Per her instructions, whenever he read the Bible to her, he was never to read anything from the Pauline corpus, as her slave owner's minister would preach from Paul to get his slaves to stay in line. Thurman's grandmother related the story that whenever the black preacher would visit, he would tell the assembled slaves, "You're no niggers. You're God's children." This struck a powerful cord in Thurman, as it gave him the inner resources of spirit to stand erect in the oppressive, racist South. Outer circumstances could not suppress him because he had garnered a strong identity from his grandmother. It was his inner life that gave him affirmation, his humanity. For Thurman, the metaphor he used for life-affirming power of the inner life was darkness. He was drawn to the mysteriousness of darkness. He felt the night belonged to him⁵⁹²; it was his third space, one of the interstices where he could affirm his humanity outside the purview of the racist South. This attraction to darkness represented his drive to live by and understand the depth of the human soul. Coupled with his fascination with darkness was a fascination with nature, especially the woods. Already in his young life, Thurman was drawn to the things that would intimidate other children. Nightfall would have an attraction to the mystically-minded Thurman, as it was conducive to silence, which was the doorway to contemplation.

⁵⁹² Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 7.

Thurman's mystical proclivity in childhood made him confident in the face of evil. He had a sense that evil can serve a higher purpose. Any mystical theology or reflection stands on this proposition. To the extent that it does, it is providential and teleological to the core, granting a sense of confidence in the face of evil. Evil gets contextualized by the providential and the teleological; it is not a free agent in a universe run by God. This theological understanding of evil was first imbued in Thurman by his mother on the occasion of Halley's Comet in 1910. There was much anxiety about Halley's Comet in all quarters of society. The anxiety over Halley's Comet produced apocalyptic visions of the end of the world. Amid all the myth-making about Halley's Comet, Thurman's mother assured Thurman that nothing would happen to them. God would take care of them.⁵⁹³ His mother taught him to trust providence, that things have a way of working out. Throughout his life, Thurman saw how the right thing happened at the right time.

Thurman was an outstanding student. He studied at Morehouse College. After Morehouse, he attended seminary in Rochester, New York. After graduating from seminary, his first church was in Oberlin, Ohio. The position was in keeping with his temperament, as it was in a college town. His ministry attracted students and townspeople of all races, though the whites never joined his church. In seminary, Thurman was an outstanding student. He remained studious all his life like most mystics. After seminary, he could have pursued graduate studies; instead, he decided to study mysticism under Rufus Jones, a Quaker. Under Jones' tutelage, Thurman learned to articulate the mystic vision of life. The impetus to study mysticism was due to his temperament: he was shy and reserved. A professor in seminary encouraged Thurman not to study the black problem, but the human one. Thurman saw mysticism as the medium through

⁵⁹³ Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 17.

which to develop the inner resources of the spirit to address the human problem. He thought everyone hungers for a deeper connection to the divine. They needed wise teachers to assist them in the process. Thurman traveled to India to meet Mahatma Gandhi. It was at the Khyber Pass between Afghanistan and western Pakistan that he had a vision that would inform the rest of his life. The vision impelled him to start a racially-diverse church, where all people would be welcomed to grow in the spirit. His church, The Fellowship of All People, was located in San Francisco. It was successful. Later he took a position as dean of Boston University Chapel. There he was influential with students like Martin Luther King, Jr. Thurman died in 1981.

Thurman's theology is unabashedly mystical. He had a certain demeanor that predisposed him to mystical experiences and mystical reflection. He was wired in such a way that he could not help but be a mystic. There were, then, cultural, personal and sociological reasons which impelled Thurman to commit himself to mysticism. But, it was especially the African-American experience in America at the turn of the 20th century that made mysticism an attractive alternative to him. Mysticism was a way to address the damaged psyches of African-Americans, to decolonize them. All the images of Christ and those associated with the founding of the church were white. Even African saints (Augustine, Tertullian and Cyprian), instrumental in the creation of the church in Rome, were cast as white in the stain glass windows of European and American churches and cathedrals. In the hands of whites, positive Christianity was most oppressive to African-Americans. It follows that a sensitive, intelligent soul like Thurman would seek the authority of religion and theology in himself. He is drawn to the negative framing of religion, the apophatic expression, wherein one does not fixate on images of God, but on the mystical sense of the presence of God in contemplation. Like Abulafia and Porete, Thurman trusted himself, the mystical, divine self in himself. His grandmother had given him a strong

sense of self; accordingly, he was not afraid to delve into himself and thereby build his theology free of the white face. Oppressed peoples have to get to the place, where, like Thurman, they garner a strong sense of self in their third space of engagement. This was the message of the Third World progenitors of postcolonial thought surveyed in chapter two. For Thurman, and for the German theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (died 1834) before him, certainty is to be found in the self. Mystical theology, then, at its core is personalism, a personalism informed by existentialism. In *Jesus and the Disinherited*, Thurman says, “Again and again he [Jesus] came back to the inner life of the individual. With increasing insight and startling accuracy, he placed his finger on the ‘inward center’ as the crucial arena where the issues would determine the destiny of his people.”⁵⁹⁴ Thurman wrote this book to distinguish Jesus of Nazareth from the Christ of the church. White images of the Christ of the church were used to oppress African-Americans. In his international travels, moreover, the issue was raised constantly why it was that African-Americans were Christian, inasmuch as Christianity was used by whites to psychologically suppress African-Americans. For Jesus, according to Thurman, the development of the inner life through various disciplines was necessary in the face of oppression by the Romans. Those disciplines combat fear, deception and hate. The experience of oppression can so damage the soul of the oppressed that the soul gets bent toward fear, deception and hatred. A religion that speaks to the subalterns must show them how to defeat these through the spiritual disciplines that promote love. It is on the plane of love that the oppressed demonstrate their strength and power.

In the Mervick Lectures given at Ohio Wesleyan University in 1954, Thurman articulated the essentials of the inner life. Religion for Thurman is religious experience. It is not

⁵⁹⁴ Howard Thurman, *Jesus and the Disinherited* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 21.

memorizing a faith community's dogma. It is not being a member of an exclusive club that discriminates against people and thereby dehumanizes them. This kind of religion as the creation of the church is to be distinguished from Jesus, who was one of the disinherited. For Thurman, there is a world of difference between Jesus and Paul. By all accounts, Paul was not a member of the dispossessed. He was aware of his status as a Roman citizen and the doors his status opened for him. The religion of Paul is to be distinguished from the religion of Jesus. Jesus' religion is an inner one characterized by religious experience. Thurman says the following about religious experience: "Religious experience is interpreted to mean the conscious and direct exposure of the individual to God."⁵⁹⁵ Religion defined as religious experience is more than the worship of Jesus. It is the disciplined way of life that opens one up to God; hence, it becomes something one does all the time.

Religious experience, moreover, is not achieved in a vacuum. Each individual brings to the experience a set of thoughts and assumptions of which he or she cannot be totally free. This comprises the social self: the inherited aspects of oneself devolved to one by living in a certain time and place. Thurman says, "The individual comes into the presence of God with the smell of life."⁵⁹⁶ Yet, there is an aspect of the person that is not particularized by culture, or limited by the smell of life. This dynamic makes of the seeker both a participant and an observer in the religious experience. For the oppressed, they must come to know that not every aspect of themselves is devolved from the society. There are aspects of themselves not determined by place and time. It is in religious experience that they come into contact with what Thurman calls "a direct knowledge of ultimate meaning." This is an awareness that there is so much more to

⁵⁹⁵ Howard Thurman, *The Creative Encounter* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1972), 20.

⁵⁹⁶ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 20.

oneself than what the second space of ideology concretizes one to be. This is an intuitive leap forward where one knows that one knows. This is an awareness of meeting God and self. There are two principals in religious experience. For Thurman, these principals are God and self. Daniel's use of son of Adam captures this same idea of two principals meeting each other in a mystical experience.

One consequence of religious experience, moreover, is that one gets a new take on life. One sees differently. According to Thurman, the experience reaffirms what one has long known, or may have known intuitively. What was percolating on the inside becomes a realization. Mystical experience is not to land on a dogma about God; it is a stretching of the person that one might see more, realize more in life than what occurs on the surface. The experience provides a “residue of God meaning.”⁵⁹⁷ Religious experience does not exhaust God; it gives pieces of meaning that inform the following motifs for Thurman: 1) God must be all-inclusive, all-comprehending, universal; 2) God is creator of life, not just objects; and 3) existence is the creation of God; life is the creation of God.⁵⁹⁸ It is not enough for God to create objects. God makes life alive, according to Thurman. The “aliveness” of life is at the foundation of all the particularities of life. The aliveness of life is a prominent African, spiritual theme. The unity of life is in its aliveness. The aliveness of life provides for unity and community that makes life sacred, though for African spirituality there is no dichotomy between the sacred and the secular.

As noted earlier, personalism is important in religious experience. For Thurman, echoing Abulafia, religious experience is private, personal, individual and unique.⁵⁹⁹ There are two principals in religious experience: God and self. As these principals are foundational to religious

⁵⁹⁷ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 28.

⁵⁹⁸ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 28.

⁵⁹⁹ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 31.

experience, neither can be surrendered. Religious experience, then, is not an ecstatic experience where the human gets a mystical experience wherein the self is absorbed by God. The integrity of both principals is to be maintained. The experience is more of an encounter than a mystical absorption. It is an encounter that challenges the individual seeker to live by one's true self hidden in the experience.

Like all the mystics in this chapter who in the spirit of Daniel used mysticism to resist and decolonize, for Thurman, too, there must be preparation for religious experience. That preparation is prayer. There is a communal aspect of prayer and there is a private aspect that prepares one for religious experience. It is the kind of prayer that fosters quiet. It quiets the mind to hear from God. Thurman says, "Prayer means the method by which the individual makes [one's] way to the temple of quiet within [one's] own spirit and the activity of [one's] spirit within its walls."⁶⁰⁰ The challenge of the seeker of religious experience is to quiet the heart to hear from the Spirit. It is the process through which one readies oneself in a disciplined way to encounter God. Without this disciplined approach in prayer, one cannot have any contact with God, for prayer is a reaching beyond oneself to God. Prayer is an attempt to establish some kind of pattern or rhythm. The human nervous system is wayward and difficult. It needs to be tamed to grow in grace. This is in keeping with Daniel's *via mystica*.

Prayer that prepares the heart for religious experience is the contemplative approach that Thurman learned from Rufus Jones. It is the ability to let go of thoughts, not fixate on them. Thurman advises it may be helpful to picture oneself placing one's unruly thoughts on a clothesline and letting them float away. The purpose is to focus on higher thoughts that one

⁶⁰⁰ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 34.

might find in a sacred text like Psalms. This focusing Thurman calls “irradiation.” Irradiation is a sense of being in the presence of God. Being ushered into the presence of God, however, is not a volitional thing. It occurs outside oneself after preparation. It is as if one is taken over by God. Thurman says, “When one has been thus prepared, a strange thing happens. It is difficult to put into words. The initiation slips out of one’s hands and into the hands of God, the other principal in the religious experience. The self moves toward God. God touches the Spirit and the will and a wholly new character in terms of dimension enters the experience.”⁶⁰¹ This is the evidence that one has encountered God. It is different for each person. Thurman does not make certain emotions or signs normative for all people for all times. The true mystic keeps the experience nebulous, for God is God. God is free to relate to people however God desires. When God and the self meet, the principals of religious experience, they create something new and unique in each encounter. Religious experience is not an inference, but a disclosure.⁶⁰² The encounter is pre-logical. It is a *mysterium tremendum* that is prior to reason’s logical meanderings. The confessional symbols of the historic church are the product of such logical meanderings and cannot satisfy the spiritual hunger of every human soul.

Religious experience, moreover, must serve a higher purpose than mere individual empowerment. It serves community. It creates community wherein people experience unity. Thurman’s mystical theology may begin with the individual, but it ends with the individual being readied for a communal awareness and living in community. For Thurman, the sin of segregation is that it denied African-Americans the experience of community. In community one finds oneself. One’s other may not be a person of one’s own race; it may be another. Kindred

⁶⁰¹ Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 37.

⁶⁰² Thurman, *The Creative Encounter*, 45.

spirits cannot be limited to color. The African-American experience of segregation in the Jim Crow South and de facto discrimination in the North and the West were evil because they denied African-Americans access to life-enhancing properties of universal, human community. They were denied the opportunity to experience life-altering diversity that comes about through meeting people in community.

CONCLUSION

Daniel was a mystic. His apocalyptic work is replete with mystical overtones. It has been my contention that he experienced the visions about which he wrote. Visionary experience in his case is mystical because he gets his visions from God in the context of an intentional infrastructure of prayer, fasting, kosher eating and reading of sacred texts. This was his *via mystica*. His consciousness, accordingly, was readied for such experiences through his *via mystica*. His *via mystica* was the structured way he readied himself for a mystical experience of God that would be revelatory about the exigent circumstances in which he and his people found themselves. The revelatory communication from God would drive his apocalypse as resistance literature that would counter the Seleucid imperial script. Instead of Antiochus IV being the sovereign one, it is God who is sovereign even over him, as empires have come and gone at the behest of God. Also, his revelatory, mystical experience bolstered his psyche. It served an existential purpose that enabled him to decolonize his psyche from the negative images of religious terror and so prepare himself for God's future possibilities of transformation for himself and his people. Mysticism framed in this way is one that faces the crises of the world with confidence, boldness and strength. This is the mysticism that a postcolonial perspective would enjoin. It is a resisting mysticism; it is a decolonizing mysticism that empowers the subaltern.

This dissertation has found that the mystical aspects of Daniel have not been pursued by scholarship. This is due to a limited understanding of apocalypticism. Apocalypticism has been viewed merely as an eschatological phenomenon. It has been limited to images of societal meltdown before a cataclysmic end time. The understanding of apocalypticism needs to be stretched to the mystical dimension by taking seriously the religious and psychological phenomenology of the one who articulates apocalypticism. This is best done by paying attention

to how apocalypticism serves the progenitors of this genre in their third space of engaging life. Apocalypticism is replete with mystical energy, profound, intense religious experience that is transformative. Such was the effect of apocalypticism on Daniel and his fellow *maskilim*. Apocalypticism is not merely about the end; it also about transformation that empowers and transcends in the present.

The mystical possibilities in Daniel, moreover, were not pursued in scholarship because of nonexistent phenomenology of prophecy in relation to apocalypticism and ancient mantic practices. A wedge was placed between apocalypticism and prophecy. Prophecy was seen as superior to apocalypticism because of its moral mandate directed to correct the ills of the present world. Compared to prophecy, apocalypticism was seen as deficient with its futuristic orientation. Though apocalypticism derived from Jewish prophecy, it was seen as a devolution from Jewish prophecy. Jewish prophets were pulled out of their ancient Near East context and presented as a logocentric class unto themselves, a *sui generis*. This dissertation has demonstrated the need to place prophecy, apocalypticism, mysticism and mantic spirituality on a continuum of religious experience.

Future research into Jewish mysticism in relation to prophecy and apocalypticism should take seriously the spiritual and experiential nexus between prophecy, apocalypticism and subsequent Jewish mysticism. Research should focus on the phenomenology of the prophet, the apocalypticist and the mystic. They travel in the same experiential universe. I am stating the obvious. Historically, however, the rift between text and experience cannot be overstated. Scholars have spoken as though those who engaged in text were devoid of experience, or experience was seen having less validity than the word event.

This dissertation was an attempt update mysticism, to proffer it as a possibility for the postmodern world that continues to face postcolonial realities of righting historic wrongs. The postmodern world is animated by peace and justice issues. It is flatly against the universal script of modernism, which was used as an imperial justification to subjugate other people and abscond with their resources. The postmodern world is against such pretense, as all over the West people are jettisoning statues of Christopher Columbus, the stark symbol of western imperialism. There needs to be further research, moreover, in the area of how mysticism can speak to the postmodern world. Mysticism, historically, has proven to be flexible, as it has always been the expression of those who resisted. In a qualified sense, mysticism was always a postmodern reality, as it was not satisfied with any positive expression of an established religion. Mysticism as a resisting reality is an easy case to make, as it never settles on a doctrine or practice. In this sense, Howard Thurman might be the entrée to a mysticism that may speak to postmodernity. To his thinking, the mystical mind is restless; it does not settle. It is always open to the *novum*, as one can never step into the same mystical river twice. I first came across Howard Thurman in a graduate seminar at Claremont School of Theology. One of the requirements of the seminar was to write a paper comparing Howard Thurman, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. I used metaphors to compare them. I called King the prophetic voice who speaks from the mountain top. He articulates a perennial dream. His dream is as sturdy and unchanging as a mountain. In many ways, King spoke to a generation of moderns who understood the language of perennial values informing ethics and morality. I labeled Malcolm X as the fiery apocalyptic figure who is never satisfied with the status quo. Malcolm X spoke to a generation of angry African-Americans in the mid-60's, who had tired of waiting for the establishment to rescind racist policies. His pronouncements have a specificity about them informed by a particular time and

place in American history. In the mid-60's American cities burned with anger. I called Howard Thurman the river. The river is an ever flow of change. The river is an ever-protean reality that symbolizes the complexity of human experience. Postmoderns appreciate the complexity of human experience. They understand that no utterance is permanent for all time. It is Howard Thurman, the mystic, who speaks to the postmodern heart, especially in his emphasis on taking one's thought life seriously, to free oneself from the negative images that come from the "smell of life." This is the human problem to which Thurman addressed himself. Howard Thurman may be the way to the articulation of a mysticism that speaks to postmoderns, because he understands the complexity and flexibility of the human psyche. Howard Thurman is like most mystics in this regard. He is like Daniel, Abraham Abulafia, Marguerite Porete and Emir Abd el-Kader. They all speak the same conceptual language that the divine reality, though essentially related to the world, cannot be exhausted by the categories of language. They distrust the imperial script produced by an oppressive, hegemonic power. They had a practice that prepared them for profounder mystical experiences. They did not, however, settle on an experience, making it normative for all people. They all used mysticism to resist and decolonize their minds of the religious evil that they suffered at the hands of a subjugating power. They represent a postcolonial mysticism, my term for bringing mysticism forward to speak to postmodern times. There needs to be further study of just how mysticism relates to postmodernity. Postcolonial mysticism stands ready to resist a colonizing power, for the abuse of power is an ever-present reality of human life. There is always a need for the third space where a subjugated people assert their humanity against such a power. Postcolonial mysticism is also a tool for anyone to cleanse their psyche, to decolonize it of negative images. This work is imperative for everyone to do, for everyone has been affected by what Howard Thurman calls "the smell of life." This work is the

emotional hygiene that everyone ought to do to catalyze an abounding peace in society, especially peace among the religions. To take this work seriously is to better one's life and by extension the world.

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